

# Messianic Interpretation

AND OTHER STUDIES

REV. R. J. KNOWLING, D.D.







W. E. MOUNTFORD.

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# MESSIANIC INTERPRETATION AND OTHER STUDIES

BY THE

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## PREFACE

THE following pages cannot claim any exhaustive treatment of the subjects with which they deal, but it is hoped that they may not be without interest at the present time. An attempt is made to take account of the copious literature connected with them, including as it does Dr. Harnack's latest endeavour to trace the source of the Baptismal formula in St. Matthew, and the newly recovered *Odes of Solomon*. The papers read at two recent Church Congresses are printed almost entirely as they were delivered, and the writer would venture to refer to his further and fuller treatment of these subjects elsewhere. In dealing with the medical language of St. Luke, Dr. Clemen's attack upon Dr. Harnack (*Hibbert Journal*, July, 1910) has not been forgotten.

It is only possible to make a few references to Dr. A. Schweitzer's book, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*.



The book represents what may well be called a swing of the pendulum; in laying stress upon the purely ethical side of our Lord's teaching men were in danger of forgetting that it had an apocalyptic aspect.

This latter side Dr. Schweitzer has unduly exaggerated.

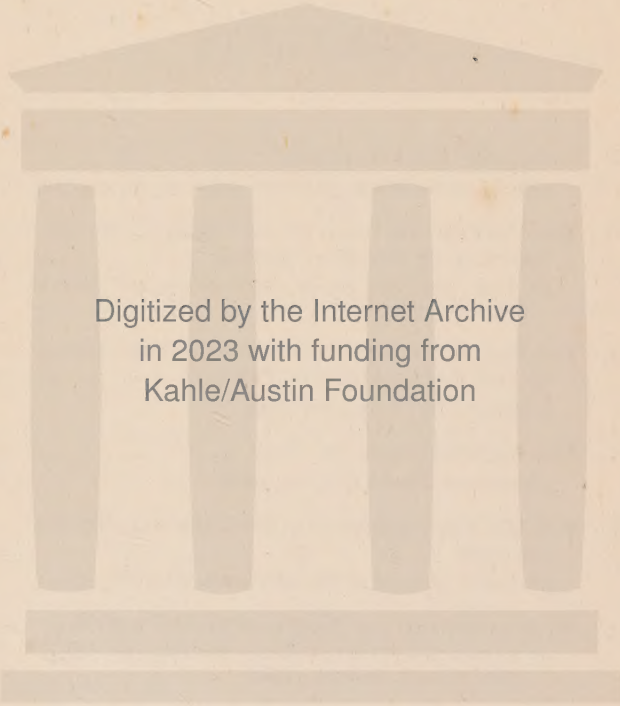
And this one-sidedness belongs also to the historical part of his book, which is in some respects so valuable. No one can read his summary dismissal as worthless of the work of his famous countryman, H. Ewald, upon the New Testament without noticing this bias, whilst his strictures upon the work of Père Didon (although perhaps more intelligible) are equally characteristic.

The Dean of St. Patrick's Article on the *Odes of Solomon* in the *J. T. S.* for October is unfortunately too late for notice. He is inclined to place the *Odes* in the time of Justin Martyr.



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## I

### “MESSIANIC INTERPRETATION” \*

“This Jesus whom I proclaim unto you is the Christ.”—ACTS xvii.  
3 (R.V.).

ST. PAUL is speaking to us from the synagogue of Thessalonica, and the word which he uses, “I proclaim unto you,” may well be called one of the missionary words of the Acts. It is used only by St. Luke and St. Paul, although the cognate noun is employed in this same chapter. St. Paul at Athens is described as “a setter forth” of strange gods, and the same noun meets us again in the papyri in relation to the work of a herald.

The message of all the Gospel heralds was one and the same, opening and alleging, adducing arguments in proof of the statement that Jesus is the Christ.

It is an interesting recent conjecture that when St. Paul speaks of the Scriptures as profitable for convicting and convincing, the words he uses may show that he had in mind the refutation of the

\* The title given to the Macbride Sermon, preached annually before the University of Oxford on the nomination of the Vice-Chancellor. Its object is “to show the applicability of the prophecies respecting the Messiah to our Lord, to confute Jewish commentators, and to promote the conversion of the ancient people of God.” The above sermon was preached on January 23, 1910.

Jewish and the building up of the Christian interpretation of the Messianic Scriptures.\*

But the success of the Apostles kindled the jealousy of the Jews. Like their fellow-countrymen before Pilate, they were ready to exclaim, "We have no king but Cæsar," and to urge against the missionaries the treasonable charge of proclaiming "another king one Jesus." And yet though His subjects thus proclaimed Him as a King, we are face to face with the strange paradox which meets us even in the brief summary given in the Acts of the Apostolic preaching in Thessalonica—a King and yet a Servant, a Conqueror and yet a Sufferer. No wonder that such a proclamation made a stir, and that the Jews spoke of its heralds as those who had turned the world upside down. And this subversion of all their highest ideas and hopes remains to the orthodox Jew a stumbling-block to-day.

In a lecture delivered to the Lessing Society in Berlin,† reference is made to an earnestly written Jewish pamphlet which tells us that the transition from Judaism to Christianity can only be made at the cost of a broken heart.

But still, as we shall see, there are recent utterances of representative Jews which are by no means devoid of appreciation of the Christian Messiah.

"In writing of Jesus of Nazareth," says Dr. Danziger, "I seem to myself to hear a voice such as came to Moses in the desert of old: 'Take the

\* See C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, p. 13 (Oct. 1909).

† *Whose Son is Christ?* p. 9 (E. T. 1908), by Friedrich Delitzsch.



shoe from off thy foot, for the place on which thou standest is holy ground.' As Moses marvelled at the bush which burned and yet was not consumed, and approached to examine its nature, so I am drawn to examine the wondrous mystery of the life and death of Jesus to my fullest power of mind, and in deep reverence." \* Would that such a spirit may animate more and more the controversies between Jews and Christians.

"This Jesus whom I proclaim unto you is the Christ."

There were many Jews who bore the name of Jesus, and the question is, what was it made His fellow-countrymen to regard any one of them as the Christ? Why should He have been spoken of by the title "Lord," which, as the wealth of inscriptions and letters is reminding us, denoted a claim—an absolute claim—upon the body and soul of each of His followers? No doubt one answer to such a question would have been the answer given by the early Christian apologists with almost one accord—because in Him prophecy found its fulfilment. It was to prophecy that the early Christians were wont to appeal, and it is highly probable that at a quite early date the Christians possessed Books of Testimonies, *i.e.* collections of prophecies foretelling the Messiah, and that appeal was made to these in controversies with the Jews. The recently discovered letter of St. Irenæus probably affords us another

\* *Jewish Forerunners of Christianity*, p. 30 (1904). See also the remarkable language of M. Friedländer, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums in Zeitalter Jesu*, pp. 112, 113, 334 ff. (1905).

proof of the early existence of such collections for controversy and instruction alike.\*

But why did prophecy centre in Him, in this Jesus whom St. Paul proclaimed? We are now confidently informed that so slender is the material which remains for a portrait of Jesus of Nazareth that it does not seem absurd to some critics of to-day to deny that He ever lived.† But if so, we ask again, why was this Jesus called the Christ? Upon whom and upon what was the Christian Church built?‡ What an impression must have been made by the life of poverty and the death of shame which the Gospels reveal to us, that such a name should have been given to this Jesus by men who were Jews, who inherited the hopes of a mighty earthly kingdom

\* See, e.g., Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 77, 264, 282; and "The Use of Testimonies in the Early Christian Church," *Expositor*, November, 1906. It is, of course, quite possible that these testimonies were, in some cases at all events, something more than a mere Catena of Prophecies, and that some reference might be made to the facts in which these prophecies were fulfilled. See to this effect Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part II. p. 344 (1909).

The matter is further referred to on p. 170, and amongst recent researches on the subject "Athanasius and the Book of Testimonies," by Dr. J. Rendel Harris (*Expositor*, June, 1910), should be consulted.

† See the criticism of J. Weiss, *Jesus von Nazareth, Mythos oder Geschichte?* (1910); and of Professor Chwolson, *Ueber die Frage ob Jesus gelebt hat?* (1910).

‡ "How did the primitive Church's belief in the Messiahship Jesus arise? To that question Pfeiderer can give no other answer than that of Volkmar and Brandt, that is to say none. He laboriously brings together wood, straw, and stubble, but where he gets the fire from to kindle the whole into the ardent faith of primitive Christianity, he is unable to make clear." A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 313. These remarks in this notable book might well be borne in mind.

and the traditions of a people consecrated to the one true God. Why was it that men who were Jews should search the Old Testament to connect types and prophecies with a life of which they knew so little, and with a death of which we may well suppose that they would fain have known less? But let us look at the matter a little more closely.

The early chapters of the Acts admittedly contain addresses delivered by St. Peter, although no doubt this admission is sometimes made for the purpose of disparaging the poor Christology, as it is called, of those early passages. But if so, one thing at all events follows, viz. that within some few weeks of the death of Jesus upon the Cross, and in the Temple, where within a few days of His death He had asked the rulers, “Have ye not read even this Scripture?” St. Peter, the first prophet in the Messianic age, could take up the same words of the same Psalm, which may already have received a Messianic interpretation, and could boldly witness in his Master’s rejection, resurrection, and glory to an accomplishment which filled up the meaning of those words to the full. In such a Psalm St. Peter might read as in a parable the destiny of his nation; as a pious Jew he might cling to the hope that Israel, though despised and rejected, would occupy according to God’s purpose a high and honourable place in the world’s history. But over and above such a meaning, the Psalm from which St. Peter quotes received its highest fulfilment in Him who was to be the chief Corner-stone of a spiritual temple, uniting worshippers of all nations in one.

And the word which the Apostle employs in these early chapters of the Acts means more than "fulfil" in the ordinary acceptance of the term ; it implies here, and usually in the New Testament, to fill up to the full, to bring to completion. All the deepest spiritual experience of an Old Testament saint or prophet ; all that they knew of the life of God and of communion with God ; all that they had won, through suffering, of moral strength and righteousness, attained their completion and perfection in Christ. He was the Ideal to which they pointed, and in Him all their fulness dwelt.

But it will be urged that this argument from prophecy is very precarious, and that various details in prophetic utterances have received very fanciful interpretations. And yet we have been well reminded that Origen long ago regarded the national expectation of a Messiah as a striking phenomenon in religious history, and therefore, quite apart from the claims of Jesus, a problem calling for our serious attention. Or we may refer for a moment to a very different man—Theodore of Mopsuestia. The Syrian Church regarded him as "the interpreter," and this was not perhaps surprising as we recall the features of his exegesis, his employment of an historical method, his eagerness to start from the contemporary scene or the local bearing of psalm and prophecy. But although he was sometimes led to restrict the directly Messianic element in the Scriptures, yet he maintained that the language of Psalmist and Prophet in the events to which they alluded found its perfect counterpart in Christ.



The sufferings portrayed, *e.g.*, in the fifty-fourth Psalm might refer to a David or to an Onias, but they also foreshadowed the sufferings of the Christ; and the language of the Old Testament was meant, in the providence of God, to point on to this larger fulfilment. It is interesting to note how in some respects Theodore, whatever were his faults, seems to have anticipated the critical views of prophecy which find expression in our own day.

But to consider this argument from prophecy a little more closely, let us look at the Gospel of St. Matthew. St. Matthew is the evangelist who most of all the New Testament writers sees in our Lord's whole life and in every detail of it the fulfilment of prophecy. Has he been tempted—the question must be faced—through his desire to find correspondencies in the life of Jesus with the ancient prophecies of His nation, to create correspondencies which did not in reality exist?

Now it might be possible to maintain that, with the exception of the first two chapters, no new fact is introduced into the evangelical narrative in St. Matthew on the sole strength of a prophetic reference.\* But an opponent will reply that this is just the point—what of that exception of the first two chapters? What reliance can we place in a writer who uses the words, "He shall be called a Nazarene," which certainly do not occur in any one place in the Old Testament, as if they had been spoken by or through the prophets?

Most people nowadays think it best to refer the

\* Edghill, *Evidential Value of Prophecy*, p. 475 (1906).

alleged prophecy in the main, as Christian Jews did in the days of St. Jerome, to the words of Isaiah, as he speaks of the Branch which should grow out of the roots of Jesse. But however this may be, one thing is certain—that the Evangelist connects the title “a Nazarene” with a residence at Nazareth. Yet even critics who would reduce our knowledge of our Lord’s life to a *minimum* are prepared to regard the residence at Nazareth as a fact.\*

Let us consider, then, what may well have been St. Matthew’s method. The Evangelist admittedly does not invent the fact, but given the fact, he shows that he is a true Jew, trained in the current methods of interpretation, by proclaiming it not merely as a fact, still less as an accident,† but as conveying to men’s minds, if they would, some deep spiritual truth, whether we regard the title “Nazarene” as pointing to the Messianic name of the Branch, or as reminding us that the true Messiah was content to find a home in Nazareth.

But it is also evident that in this case, at all events, the prophecy did not give rise to the alleged fulfilment, but that the historic incident gave rise to the reference to the prophecy. No one could affirm that such a prophecy, the precise meaning of which is so

\* For the recent attempts of W. B. Smith and others to deny this, see J. Weiss, *u.s.* pp. 21 ff., and the *Expository Times*, October, 1910. For the undoubted residence at Nazareth and the birth at Bethlehem, the present writer would refer to *Our Lord’s Virgin Birth*, pp. 6–13, 3rd edit.

† See, *e.g.*, F. Delitzsch, *Messianische Weissagungen*, p. 105 (1899), 2nd edit.

difficult to interpret, could have created the belief of a residence in Nazareth.

But the relation between fact and prophecy in this case may well have been the relation throughout.\* For the more we insist upon the "weakness" of these prophetic references in St. Matthew, the more difficult does it become to understand how such "weak" references could have created the consecutive details of the story which is so closely associated with them,† and the more difficult does it become to understand how the most recent of Jewish commentators, Mr. Montefiore, in his "Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels," which with its learning and research will doubtless rank as an epoch-making book,‡ can assert that the life of Jesus became a pre-arranged fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy; or how a learned Rabbi, Dr. Eschelbacher of Berlin, can recently declare that in its interpretation of such prophetic references the Christian Church shrank back from no violence to the sacred text.§

\* The present writer may refer further to art. "Birth," *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*.

† Dr. Percy Gardner's remarks in close connection with his study of St. Matthew's prophecies are worth recalling: "Some actual deed or saying of the Master might cause a passage in one of the Prophets to be read in a new light as bearing upon the deed or saying. It is very difficult for us ever to say of any event of the Founder's biography that it has no root in fact, but was born only from conformance to supposed Messianic prophecy." It is true he adds, "Yet one cannot doubt that the heaven was working. And in some cases we can trace its action with considerable probability" (*A Historic View of the New Testament*, p. 120).

‡ Since these words were written conservative Judaism has strongly repudiated Mr. Montefiore's view of Jesus in the first number of the *Jewish Review*. See *Expository Times*, July, 1910.

§ *Das Judentum und das Wesen des Christentums*, p. 97 (1908).

But what shall we say of Jewish interpretation and the still more famous prophecy of Isaiah vii. 14, to which St. Matthew refers: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son"? Here the words of the great Aramaic scholar, Dr. Dalman, cannot be too often borne in mind. "No trace," he tells us, "is to be found among the Jews of any Messianic application of Isaiah's words concerning the Virgin's Son from which by any possibility—as some have maintained—the whole account of the miraculous birth of Jesus could have derived its origin."\* It is not too much to add that no teaching of the Rabbinic schools at the time of the Advent could possibly have been the source of St. Matthew's reference to Isaiah's words.

Certainly it has been recently urged with much force that the words not only of Isaiah, but also of Micah, were but giving expression to a popular expectation which connected the birth of a future Messianic ruler with some remarkable portent and an extraordinary providence. And Babylonian no less than Jewish records are quoted to show that such expectations were widely and frequently associated with the birth of some great personality.†

But if this reasoning has any validity, then we may see in it a still further answer to the statements of our most recent Jewish commentator. He tells us quite plainly that the origin of the idea of the Virgin Birth must not be sought in the Septuagint

\* Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, vol. i. p. 226.

† See "Old Testament Notes," by Dr. Burney, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, July, 1909.



mistranslation of Isaiah's prophecy, but that its roots lie much deeper. No doubt they do, and no Christian is concerned to deny it. The expectation of a wondrous birth of a great personality which found expression, not only in a Jewish prophet, but outside Judaism, gained its complete realization in the Birth of Him of whom it could be said that in this, as in other respects, He came, not to destroy, but to fulfil.

It is, of course, impossible on the present occasion to pursue this subject further. But so far as the historical surroundings are concerned, the recently discovered rescript, from which we gather that in Egypt in the time of Trajan people were bidden to go to their own homes to be enrolled in the approaching census, is at least on the lines of St. Luke's familiar statement, as Dr. Deissmann clearly allows.\* And if we turn to other corroborative evidence, we have now the earliest Christian Apology known to us, written by Aristides, to say nothing of the probable early date, within the lines of the first century, of the Vision of Isaiah. It is a significant fact that in the most recent and bitter attack upon the Gospels, no reference is made to this famous Apology (although another Aristides the Rhetor is twice mentioned).

And if the date assigned, or anything like it, to the recovery by a distinguished Cambridge scholar of what he justly calls the "Odes," as distinct from the Psalms of Solomon, may be taken into account, we are now in possession of new evidence of considerable importance, probably carrying us further

\* *Licht vom Osten*, p. 194 (1908).

back than this famous Apology of Aristides,\* although, as I have stated later on, such evidence must not be overrated. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the German scholar Dr. Nestle has fully endorsed the view of Dr. Rendel Harris as to the early date and importance of these Odes.†

But if the early chapters of St. Matthew bear witness to our Lord's Virgin Birth,‡ they also bear witness to His sovereignty and kingship. They, too,

\* It would seem that the *Ode* which refers to the Virgin Birth is not regarded by Dr. Rendel Harris himself as amongst the oldest in the collection, and he would apparently be inclined to put it not earlier than the opening years of the second century (*Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, pp. 87, 116. Cambridge University Press, 1909).

See further an article by Dr. Harris in the *Contemporary Review*, April, 1909, giving an account of his discovery, and also a cheap edition of the *Odes* under the title of *An Early Christian Psalter*, 1909.

For Dr. Harnack's view as to the testimony of the *Odes* to the doctrine of the Trinity and the Virgin Birth, see below, p. 73.

† See *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, Jan. 7, 1910. Even Schürer admitted that the chief bulk of the collection is of Christian origin; and since the above was written, Dr. Harnack has given us an elaborate edition of the *Odes* with notes. See further, p. 73.

Dr. Harnack places these *Odes* at a very early date, and also speaks emphatically as to their remarkable connection with the phraseology of St. John.

He differs, however, from Dr. R. Harris in that he regards the *Odes* as originally Jewish with Christian interpolations, whilst Dr. Harris would trace them back to Jewish-Christian sources. A full criticism of Dr. Harnack's view will be found by Dr. Haussleiter in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, June 10, 1910.

The above was written before the present writer had read the articles—(1) *An Ancient Christian Hymn Book*, by Dr. Emery Barnes (*Expositor*, July, 1910); (2) *Dr. Harnack on the Recently Recovered Odes*, by Dr. Kennedy (*Expository Times*, July, 1910); (3) *Odes of Solomon* by Dr. A. Menzies, *Interpreter*, Oct., 1910.

‡ See especially amongst recent writers, Dr. Plummer's *Commentary* on St. Matt. I. and II., and the American L. M. Sweet, *The Birth and Infancy of Jesus Christ*, 1907.

know of "another King, one Jesus;" they, too, bid us find in Him the true and only Saviour. And in this they may be said to be at one with the testimony of St. Paul.

Evidently, as we learn both from the Acts and from the Thessalonian Epistles, the preaching of the Kingship of Jesus and of the Kingdom of Jesus had been insisted upon by the Apostle.

But the Jews themselves had expected, and were expecting, "another king." And if we ask what kind of king the Jews expected (according to Christian representation), the most recent Jewish commentator assures us that the answer must be something extremely disagreeable. The alleged ordinary Jewish conception of the Messiah was in reality created by Christian theologians—a serious charge which demands an answer. It is a caricature, a half-truth, and we are bidden to remember what half-truths are. There was a desire, no doubt, for material prosperity and freedom, but there was no warlike king, killing the majority of his enemies, and enslaving the rest, but the essential feature was that the Messiah was a righteous King, ruling over a righteous people.

Now, there is one remarkable book which carries us up to within some seventy to forty years of our Lord's birth—the so-called *Psalms of Solomon*; and it is to the striking description of the Messiah in the seventeenth of these Psalms that the greatest importance attaches, although perhaps the German Wrede seems to regard it as too spiritual, too little political.\* But it is of interest to note that the writer of this

\* C. G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, vol. i. p. 52.

seventeenth Psalm of Solomon should take up repeatedly the very words of Isaiah xi., the chapter in which Mr. Montefiore bids us find the picture of the Christ whom the Jews actually expected, a Christ who should judge the poor in righteousness, and upon whom the Spirit of the Lord should rest.

And it is this feature in their structure which gives to these Psalms their special bearing upon our subject this morning. These Psalms present us with what may in truth be called a Messianic interpretation by the Jews themselves—probably by the Pharisees—of many a familiar prophecy; they enable us to realize the conceptions which had gathered round the well-known passages of the Old Testament within perhaps some half century or so of the Incarnation.

In the decay and sinfulness of the nation these Psalmists saw but one remedy: "Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their King, the Son of David."\* And this appeal is based upon the promise that an eternal throne had been ratified to David by an oath. The language of Psalmist and Prophet alike is laid under contribution to show how the Messiah, while He should reserve the land for the chosen race, should possess the heathen to serve Him beneath His yoke, so that the nations may come from the ends of the earth to see His glory. The familiar

\* A. Schweitzer points out that the fact that the Messiah is here designated by the title the Son of David is significant of the rising influence of the ancient prophetic literature, but is altogether right in adding that this designation has nothing whatever to do with a political ideal of a kingly Messiah? The Psalms, as he himself admits, were called forth by civil strife and the first appearance of the Roman power.—*The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, pp. 367, 368.



language of Isaiah xi. is again chosen to describe how God should cause Him to be mighty through the spirit of holiness, and wise through the counsel of understanding with might and righteousness. And as in the imagery of the prophets and of the psalms, so here the Messiah is the Shepherd of His people, tending the flock of the Lord with faithfulness and righteousness.

Thus the language of the Old Testament is woven into the conception of an ever-extending reign of wisdom and righteousness ; and we cease to wonder that the Messiah, although not divine, although only a vassal King, should Himself be described as (ceremonially) pure from sin,\* and that His subjects should be holy and Himself taught of God, merciful even to the Gentiles, who came to Him in fear, for His might is tempered with justice. Such a picture represents the ordinary Jewish conception of a Messiah in many circles within a short period of our Lord's Advent, and no Christian is concerned to detract from its beauty or to minimize its value.

But such a picture had its drawbacks, its limitations, its imperfections, and these were not the creation of Christian theologians. Such a picture would encourage the patriotic hopes of an earthly dominion and of a universal kingdom of Israel, while it would have men be patient, believing that the King would come "in the time which Thou, O God, knowest that He may reign over Israel Thy servant."

But the real result was that the Jewish people in their bitterness of soul were not content to wait,

\* Fairweather, *The Background of the Gospels*, p. 234 (1908).

and they gathered around the standard of every false pretender who asserted himself. They were ready to welcome a Messiah who should smite the nations with the breath of His mouth, but they forgot that the true Messiah King would extend His mercy even to the Gentiles, and that He would reign, not by physical force and might, but by the holy Spirit of God.

The idea of a warlike King, the Jews to-day ask us to believe, was on the wane when Jesus came. But if so, it soon gathered strength, in spite of the apparent protest of such a book as the *Assumption of Moses*, in which there is no Messiah; it became the predominant factor, until not only the mass of the people, but the most learned Rabbi of his day, were content to hail as the King Messiah a man of wrong and robbery, destined to die at the hands of His conquerors, and to be condemned and execrated as a bold deceiver.\*

Thus history would teach us that Christian writers have not created the conception of a Jewish Messiah revelling in bloodshed as a foil to the "pure spiritual" conception of Jesus, but that the Jews themselves failed to embrace and to hold fast the more spiritual conceptions of the Psalms of Solomon, and of the great prophecies of the Messiah upon which those Psalms were based. It is not the Christian, but the Jew, who has falsified the picture of his own Messiah.

\* Schweitzer argues that we do not know the popular form of the Messianic hope at the time of the Advent. But surely we do know the events in which the hope culminated and its miserable travesty by Bar-Cochba.—*The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 8.

But between the description of the Messiah in these *Psalms of Solomon* and some of the great evangelical prophecies in Isaiah there is one striking difference. In the latter we come across the picture of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah; in the former nothing is said of a Sufferer. Israel, indeed, is God's servant, and twice in these *Psalms of Solomon* it is addressed as such. But with the political aspirations of an earthly dominion, and with the revival of Messianic hopes, the writer was hardly likely to lay stress upon the thought of the Messiah or of the nation as a Sufferer. It is of course true that so far as the Messiah is concerned, the figure of the Sufferer is wanting also in the *Book of Enoch*. But it is quite possible that that book, with its Apocalyptic scenes and visions, appealed less to the minds of both cultivated and simple Jews than the *Psalms of Solomon*, couched as these were in the familiar language of Psalmist and prophet alike.

But we turn from the conception of Israel as the Servant in the *Psalms of Solomon* to the application of the same word in the great Isaianic prophecies to the Suffering Servant of Jehovah.

No one has followed more closely the violent controversy which, since 1892, has raged round these same prophecies than Dr. Kautzsch, of Halle, so well known in England by his great article, “The Religion of Israel.”\* He will evidently have nothing to do with the theory which urges that the fifty-second and fifty-third of Isaiah are by different hands from the other “Servant” passages, and he draws a

\* Hastings' *B.D.* vol. v., “Religion of Israel,” pp. 612-734.

striking picture of Israel the nation as the Servant, called to a unique work in the world, bearing the sins and healing the sins of others by its grievous and vicarious sufferings, a work of enlightenment to the Gentiles, carrying salvation to the ends of the earth. But whilst Dr. Kautzsch thus urges that the Servant of Jehovah may be primarily interpreted of Israel, so far as the mind of the prophet is concerned, he adds the most important words that, as a matter of fact, the Church is entitled to see the complete fulfilment of this very remarkable prophecy only in the Person of Christ.

We may admit that the word "Servant" may be used, and is sometimes used, of the nation of Israel ; that some of the traits in the portrait of Jehovah's Servant may have been suggested by the sufferings of individuals, and were applicable to individual sufferers. Yet the portrait, as a whole, is one which transcended all experience, and the figure of the ideal Servant anticipated a work and a mission more enduring and comprehensive than that of Israel, and a holiness and innocency of life to which the best and noblest of her sons had never attained.

Certainly at the present time there is a disposition to regard the Suffering Servant, not as an ideal Messiah, not as a collective Israel, but as a personality, a person. But even so, the difficulties of interpretation are still felt, as they cannot be said to be solved by those who adopt the strange view that the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah may be traced back in its origin to Babylonish hymns, sung at the worship of a mythical God, dying and yet rising to life again.

But if the traits of the Suffering Servant fit badly enough an Hezekiah or a Jehoiachin, still less do they fit, as it has well been pointed out, a dying Adonis,\* whose death is not shown to be an expiation, and whose proverbial beauty ill befits a countenance marred more than that of the sons of men.

No doubt as Christians we are accustomed to identify the Servant with the Messiah, and that identification is attractively presented to us in the recent Fernley Lecture, but we cannot ignore the difficulties here also. The picture of the Sufferer's death and his subsequent restoration to glory is regarded as completed, and we are now asked to see the figure of the Servant blending with that of the Messiah King, who is clothed, not with earthly splendour, but with the Divine Spirit, with whom are lasting joys and the sure fulfilment of the promises made to David. But the prophet looks back, too, upon the past, and he remembers that the Child of whom it was written, "Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given," is described as sitting on the throne of His father David, establishing His kingdom with judgment and with righteousness henceforth even for ever. Such a view is very suggestive as we look back with Christian eyes upon the past. The Messiah is the King, and the King is the Babe of Bethlehem.

But this picture of a Suffering Messiah so familiar

\* See for the support of such a view, H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der Israelitisch-Jüdischen Eschatologie*, p. 333 (1905); and on the other hand Prof. Margoliouth, "Recent Exposition of Isaiah liii.," *Expositor*, July, 1908, and W. H. Moulton, *The Witness of Israel*, p. 182 (Fernley Lecture).



to every Christian was not only unknown to the *Psalms of Solomon* and to the *Book of Enoch*, it was at variance with Jewish beliefs, as the four Gospels bear witness, during our Lord's earthly life, and it may be fairly urged that it is not until after the fall of Jerusalem that we meet with the conception of a Suffering Messiah in Rabbinical literature at all.\*

The *Psalms of Solomon* could find and praise the good Shepherd in the King Messiah; the Christian Church alone could add, "the good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep"; the *Psalms of Solomon* could say of the Messiah that He should gather together a holy people; the Christian Church alone could declare that Jesus by His death should gather together into one the children of God that were scattered abroad; the *Psalms of Solomon* could speak with the prophets of "the sons of the covenant;" Christians alone could take up and appropriate the phrase, sons as they were of a new and better covenant, ratified in the blood of the Son of God's love.

Yes, the vision of the King in His beauty was to be seen not only in Isaiah xi., but in those later prophecies which revealed a visage marred more than that of the sons of men, and spoke of a soul poured out unto death, an offering for sin.

It is indeed urged by Jewish writers to-day

\* See further E. König, *Talmud und Neues-Testament*, p. 20 (1907).

For an examination of the views of Orthodox, Reform, and Semi-Reform Judaism as to Isaiah liii. and the doctrine of vicarious suffering, Dr. Oesterley's recent volume, *The Jewish Doctrine of Mediation* (1910), pp. 147-172, will be found of value and interest.

that there is little evidence that Jesus was Himself influenced by Isaiah liii., and we are bidden to remember that there is only one reference to this chapter in all the recorded words of the Saviour, when on the night of His Passion He marked the fulfilment of the prophecy, "and He was numbered with transgressors."\* But might it not be urged with equal truth that the very fact that He thus quotes these words at the supreme crisis of His life may indicate that He had before His mind throughout the picture of the suffering servant, while at the same time the almost incidental manner in which the words are introduced carries with it an impression of truth? †

Again and again have attempts been made to lessen the force of these familiar passages, which speak of ignominy and suffering in their application to our Lord. From the days of the Targum of Jonathan on Isaiah liii., in which, by what we may call a strange shifting of the subject of the prophecy, ‡ the figure of the sheep for the slaughter is identified with the enemies of Israel, to the days in which the familiar words "so shall He sprinkle (or, startle) many nations" are rendered by a learned Rabbi

\* C. G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, vol. i. p. 392. But see also Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 303. E.T.

† "It is possible," writes Schweitzer, "that in the enigmatic saying about the disciples fasting when the bridegroom is taken away from them, there is a hint of what Jesus expected. In that case suffering, death, and resurrection must have been closely united in the Messianic consciousness from the first."—*The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 370.

‡ Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p. 123, and Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 299. E.T.

“so shall He attract great nations,” we see proofs of the manner in which Jewish commentators have varied in their interpretation.

A short time ago I received a letter from an English clergyman who is engaged in the valuable work of issuing month by month a pamphlet to meet the current objections of the Jews to Christianity.\* A large number of these objections, it would seem, are still based upon the well-known works of R. Isaac at the close of the sixteenth century, although the modern orthodox Jews affect to despise it.

R. Isaac and others, *e.g.*, urged that Isaiah liii. referred directly to the nation of Israel, and this is the view held by ninety-nine out of every hundred Jews to-day. It would seem, too, that the sufferings of the nation are not regarded by most Jewish teachers to-day as strictly vicarious. “To enable Israel,” said Deutsch, “to accomplish its mission, the Infinite Wisdom found it good to scatter it in the whole world, and to let it suffer there. The Gentiles in whose midst it suffers will through this become acquainted with the true knowledge of God.”

And this is more or less the view put forward by R. Joseph Eschelbacher in his well-known studies to further the progress of Judaism in Berlin, as he comments upon the various “Servant” passages.

But still every Christian, as he marks the fulfilment of that great prophecy in the Cross and

\* The Rev. A. Lukyn Williams, B.D. Reference may also be made to the valuable work of the Hebrew Guild of Intercession in the East of London.

Passion, and recognizes far and wide in human life the constraining and redeeming power, the worthiness of the Lamb that was slain for us, is ready to repeat with St. Paul, "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ"; "the rack on which a slave must die" becomes not only the symbol of a triumphant faith, but a revelation of the glory of the Lord; "the Lord reigneth from the tree."

No wonder that one who won his way back from Agnosticism to the Christian Faith could say, "True, or not true, the entire story of the Cross from its commencement in prophetic aspiration to its culmination in the Gospel, is by far the most magnificent presentation in literature." \*

We know in our own day how men are keen in tracing what they call the evolution of the Messianic idea.† To this we are asked to believe that mythological elements have contributed, myths known to the Jews and referred to by their prophets.

Thus it is affirmed that we may trace the myth of the *Heil-Bringer*, the Saviour-Hero, in Old Testament records, and that we should expect to associate such thoughts with the Servant of the Lord, who "brings salvation to the ends of the earth."

But whatever truth there may be in the conception of the *Heil-Bringer*, whatever truth there may be in the prophetic picture of the Suffering

\* Prof. Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*, p. 160. He adds, "And surely the fact of its having all been lived does not detract from its poetic value."

† Oesterley, *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea*, p. 83 ff. (1908).

Servant, all is summed up and realized in Him Who could say, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me," and of Whom it could be written that He Himself should save His people from their sins. Here the universalism and the particularism of which the prophets had spoken are combined; and the Targum in its paraphrase of the second verse of the forty-fifth Psalm uttered a truth, the significance of which history is teaching us to realize: "Thy beauty, O King Messiah, exceeds that of the children of men; a spirit of prophecy is bestowed upon Thy lips."

Think for a moment of that magnificent vision which passed before the eyes of the Old Testament prophets and their followers, in which men have even believed that they were listening to the swan-song of an Isaiah, the utterance of a never-dying faith and hope in his latter days. May we not see in it an anticipation of the opening scenes in the history of the Church of Christ?

Certainly there is a striking correspondence between the prophetic words and the actual events described in the opening chapters of the Acts of the Apostles: "Out of Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." St. Peter's earliest sermons were a fulfilment of the Lord's command that His teaching should be delivered first in Jerusalem, and St. Paul, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, was to teach many people the way of the God of Jacob, that they should walk in His paths.

It may, no doubt, be urged that many of these Old Testament prophecies must be regarded in the



light of ideals.\* Take, as a single instance, the words which immediately follow the verse just quoted: "Nation shall not rise against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Such a description is an ideal, and you will think, no doubt, that it is an ideal which is not likely to find any early fulfilment. But no one has emphasized more strongly than Mr. Montefiore the benefits which the world has gained from Christian ideals, never perhaps attained, but eagerly sought and keenly cherished.

And this law, this instruction with its rich spiritual blessings, was to be for all nations. It is quite true that in the days preceding the Advent, we often find in Judaism a very harsh view of the treatment to be measured out to the Gentiles. But this harshness is tempered by the universalism of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (which may carry us back to little more than a century before the Advent), and the *Psalms of Solomon* have their own note of gentleness. Thus in the *Testaments* (Lev. xviii. 9) we read, "And in His (*i.e.* the Messiah's) priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth, and enlightened through the grace of the Lord."† In such passages we catch not only the spirit of the Old Testament prophets who could speak of all nations flowing unto the mount of the Lord, but we mark an anticipation of the teaching and preaching of the gospel.

It is not perhaps surprising that modern cultured

\* See, *e.g.*, Dr. Driver, "The Ideals of the Prophets," *Expository Times*, Oct., 1909.

† See further, edition of Dr. Charles, pp. xcvi., 210, 214.

and liberal Jews should claim for their religion the marks of universalism,\* and in a book which has gained a wide circulation, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, the author has been taken to task by Mr. Montefiore because in his description of Judaism his outlook is so narrow and limited. But still, do we not feel that, however much we may recognize the comprehensiveness of the prayers offered in Jewish synagogues and taught in Jewish catechisms to-day, yet Judaism has been marked by "a predominately tribal aspect," whilst in Christianity we may be said to have seen at least a partial realization of the prophet's vision of the nations bringing their desirable things into the great spiritual temple of God, a temple in which, as St. Paul's words best describe the worshippers, there cannot be "Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, for Christ is all and in all." †

We have spoken this morning of the *Psalms of Solomon*. Suffer me to remind you that, whilst these Psalms may give us a picture of the expected Messiah, we have lately recovered — so it would seem — a copy of the *Odes of Solomon*, which may be placed with some probability in the latter part of the first century after the Advent. On such a subject one must speak with caution. Some of these *Odes* would seem to come to us from Judæan-Christian circles,‡

\* Friedländer, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu*, p. 335.

† Cf. Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 260. E.T.

‡ See, however, Dr. Harnack's recent conjecture, p. 18 above.

and whilst they tell us little of the details of the Gospels, which might be taken to indicate their early date, they speak repeatedly of the Messiah, and they tell us apparently of the Incarnation, of the Cross, the Passion, the Resurrection. They proclaim a universalism as wide as that of St. Paul, and they contain a mysticism which reminds us of St. John: "He became like me, in order that I might receive Him; He was reckoned like myself in order that I might put Him on; and I trembled not when I saw Him, because He is my Salvation."

But whilst the *Psalms* speak of a Christ who was to appear, the *Odes* know that the Christ has come. "We live in the Lord by His grace" (as another of the *Odes* puts it), "and life we receive in His Messiah; for a great day has shined upon us, and marvellous is He who has given us of His glory." Whatever may be the precise date to which such utterances may be assigned, a study of the whole collection may perhaps encourage the belief that some Jewish Christian is speaking to us out of the abundance of his heart, "and singing the grace of the Lord Most High." \* And if we turn for a moment from the ancient to our modern world, is it not that same grace which alone can bring home to the mind of the Jew the claims of the Christian faith, the truth that this Jesus is the Christ, Who is made unto us sanctification and redemption? The orthodox Jewish believers still present, as we have seen, their old stock objections, and comparatively little is done to meet them. It would be hard to find any large number of

\* See above, p. 18.

students in our own Church who are seriously and effectively grappling with the many and peculiar difficulties connected with missions to the Jews. But it must not be forgotten that in spite of all these difficulties, and in some of the most unpromising places, as *e.g.* in the ancient Thessalonica itself, Christian teachers are at work, and a Christian mission has been started. At home those who have a claim to speak can tell us that during the last decade or two things have been improving, especially in the general feeling of the Jews towards Christians and Christianity, although the bitter fruits of hatred and persecution still remain.

In Berlin, *e.g.*, educated Jews read the Christian claim to have hastened the fulfilment of many a prophecy of Isaiah in the promotion of justice and harmony, in the progress of peace and goodwill. And then they remind us of times when it might have been said, Where are such results to be seen in the attitude of Christians towards us, or of Christians towards one another? \*

Others, again, in England, who make the strongest claim to liberality and broad-mindedness, look forward avowedly to the time when Jews and Christians will join hands over the Sermon on the Mount; and some Jewish teachers openly declare that the study of Rabbinical literature will help to prove the authenticity of large portions of the New Testament Scriptures. Nay, more; as if He was indeed the Messiah, we are asked to behold in Jesus the picture of a King

\* See Rabbi Eschelbacher, *Das Judentum und das Wesen des Christentums*, p. 48 (1908).

Who creates in the personal service done to Himself a motive power and force which Judaism cannot share ; a prophet who realizes the ideal Shepherd of Ezekiel, the true *Seel-sorger*, the Lover of souls, a Prophet, more hopeful than a Jeremiah, although not less vehement in His warnings to those whom He came to redeem and save ; a Teacher, to many of whose utterances there attaches a lasting and permanent value, because they are not dependent upon any eschatological opinions or upon any belief as to the approaching end of the world.\* For such acknowledgments we cannot but be grateful.

But modern cultured Judaism would seem to place itself most nearly in a line with Christianity when it adds that, if it may rightly claim Isaiah as one of its founders, it may also claim Jesus—that He too is theirs ; He is of the same lineage and stuff as an Amos or an Hosea.

And yet in the same breath modern Judaism affirms that Jesus is not "its Lord, and indeed can never become so." Such a statement raises a plain and decisive issue. To the Christian, Jesus is his Saviour and his God ; the Lord, to Whom he owes all that he has and all that he hopes to be ; the Divine Interpreter of the Scriptures and of the things concerning Himself. To the modern cultured Jew Jesus is a great moral hero, a star of the first magnitude in the spiritual heaven, but yet a Man born as other men, disconcerted at the idea that moral perfection could be attributed to Him. The death scene on

\* All this affords a striking contrast to the remarks of A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 400.



Calvary has for the Jew a religious value, but we are not brought nearer, nor are we more reconciled, to God by the death of Jesus.

"He is not our Lord, and can never become so." But things impossible with men are possible with God, and while the words were being written, France was giving us a striking autobiography of a typical Jew ; \* typical in his passionate love for his country and his religion ; typical in his knowledge of the teaching of the prophets, as also of the Rabbis of his nation, and in the belief that in Abraham all nations of the earth shall be blessed ; an artist, a man of letters, who had embraced nearly every phase of religion and irreligion, who had been a Pantheist, a disciple of Nietzsche, who had surrendered himself for a time to the worship of the senses. In one striking passage he tells us how on one occasion he asked one of the great Jewish teachers in Paris, "What is the Messiah for the synagogue?" And the answer he received was that "the Messiah" is the triumph of justice, the reign of liberty and fraternity, and that this reign commenced with the French revolution.†

But such answers could not satisfy, and he withdrew from the membership of the synagogue. Little by little he was led to see in the Cross of Jesus the true rest and peace for which he longed ; the story

\* Paul Lœwengard, *La Splendeur Catholique, Du Judaïsme à l'Église*, 1910.

† On the absence of any belief in a *personal* Messiah in Reform Judaism in England, see Oesterley, *The Jewish Doctrine of Mediation*, p. 170 (1910).

of the Passion and the *Imitatio Christi* became to him the literature prized above all else; daily he prays that Israel may come to the knowledge of our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and share in His redemption. “For how many soever be the promises of God, in Him is the yea.” And if not? Then “in none other is there salvation; for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved.” “Jesus *or* Christ?” All around us men are asking this question. The New Testament knows no alternative: “This Jesus whom I proclaim unto you is the Christ.”

## II

### SOME RECENT CRITICISM IN ITS RELATION TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY TRINITY

“THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.”

With this verse, so familiar and so endeared to us, it has been said that the historical treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity begins.

The words come to us from an Epistle, 2 Corinthians, which even the most intolerant critics can scarcely refuse to accept as the work of St. Paul. We must not forget that even this Epistle, as indeed every Epistle of St. Paul, has been recently disputed. But since it would be easy to point to writers of the first rank, both conservative and radical, who are agreed in their repudiation of this eccentricity of criticism, it scarcely seems worth while to give it more than a passing mention.\*

\* It is significant that Jewish writers, in their attempts to belittle the historical character of the events of our Lord's life in the New Testament as witnessed to by the Epistles and Gospels, lay stress upon the theories of Van Manen. See, *e.g.*, the recent utterances of Rabbi Eschelbacher of Berlin, *Das Judentum und das Wesen des Christentums*, p. 143 ff. (1908).

For a criticism of the extreme radicalism in Germany, which would

"The whole of 2 Corinthians," writes Dr. Schmiedel, "is so personal and so full of individuality that in this case we are really entitled to draw the conclusion (so often illegitimate) that it could not have been invented." And he adds that, as every one agrees that the four *Hauptbriefe* of St. Paul must stand or fall together, the same conclusion applies equally to many portions of 1 Corinthians, Romans, and Galatians in which the same individuality is found, although in a less marked degree.

An English translation has recently been given us of two lectures delivered in Berlin by Professor Friedrich Delitzsch. His name, already well and honourably known, gained a fresh notoriety from the fact that his two previous lectures, *Babel und Bibel*, were delivered in the presence of the German Emperor and called forth a reply from him. Professor Delitzsch, in his more recent pronouncement, tells us that the fundamental conditions of any healthy progress of the Christian religion are the transition from Trinitarian to Unitarian Christianity.\* But it will scarcely be believed that in his argument he makes no reference whatever to the familiar passage before us in 2 Corinthians, and that he actually asks us to believe that in spite of the Apostle Paul the Trinitarian formula was put into the mouth of the Risen Christ! It would rather

still deny the existence of Jesus, see *Theologische Rundschau*, May, June, July, 1910, and *Jesus von Nazareth, Mythos oder Geschichte?* J. Weiss (1910); *Ueber die Frage ob Jesus gelebt hat*, Prof. Chwolson (1910).

\* *Whose Son is Christ?* p. 51. E.T. of *Wessen Sohn ist Christus?* This title was adopted for both editions by the wish of Prof. Delitzsch.

seem that the words of 2 Cor. xiii. presuppose the existence of some such Trinitarian formula.

But quite apart from the strong external evidence for 2 Corinthians, we may well ask with Dr. Schmiedel, who could have been the author but St. Paul? there is perhaps no Epistle of the New Testament which so transcends the art of a forger.

If, then, we are prepared to accept the important words under discussion as coming to us from St. Paul, we naturally ask when they were written. And here we do well to remember that, whilst the words cannot be placed more than thirty years after our Lord's Ascension, and possibly not more than some six and twenty years after that event, yet they carry us back in reality to a much earlier date.\* The Apostle evidently writes as if he was employing words which would present no difficulty of acceptance to the minds and understandings of his converts; he does not pause to explain them. The foundation of the Church in Corinth had been laid but a few years previously, and yet the Apostle feels sure that its members would be listening to no theological subtleties, but to truths of heart and life. "*Ye know*," he says elsewhere in this same Epistle, "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" (viii. 9). Moreover—let us not forget it—his words in 2 Cor. xiii. are nothing less than a prayer. And in thus praying for them the Apostle would not wish to puzzle his

\* See in this connection, and as endorsing this statement, the recent remarks of Dr. Harnack, *Verfassung und Recht der Alten Kirche*, 1910, which contains (p. 194), "Eine Untersuchung über den Ursprung der trinitarischen Formel."



converts, but rather to aid and to guide their understanding and their will. And this prayer, again let us note it, was a prayer for all at Corinth. Nowhere had St. Paul more bitter opponents, nowhere had party spirit been so rife, and yet the Apostle prays that the grace of the Lord Jesus, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost may be with them *all*.

Or let us consider St. Paul's familiar prayer in another way. The justification of his language here is found in his earlier statements, which, equally with those in our well-known verse, may be attributed to him beyond any reasonable doubt.

There is, as we know, some considerable questioning at present as to which is the earliest Epistle of St. Paul. Most writers contend for I Thessalonians, but there is an increasing number of scholars who are inclined to claim priority for Galatians. But these two Epistles, I Thessalonians and Galatians, are quite generally acknowledged to come to us from St. Paul, and whichever of the two we regard as the earlier, there can be no doubt as to the significance of the language which the writer uses. Both Epistles conclude with the prayer, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you," both use language from which one can scarcely fail to see how early the doctrine of the Holy Trinity must have found a place in the Christian Church.\*

\* In this connection we may refer to the recent words of Dr. Milligan, *Epistle to the Thessalonians*, p. lxvi., and Dr. Sanday, art. "Jesus Christ," Hastings' *B.D.*, vol. ii. p. 648.

If, *e.g.*, we read the opening chapter of 1 Thessalonians we see how the Apostle speaks of the Lord Jesus Christ, of God the Father and His Son, of the Holy Ghost, Who is twice mentioned in a manner which does but anticipate the statements of 2 Corinthians, in which, as we have seen, the three Persons of the Trinity are associated together in one brief prayer.

Or let us look at a later chapter in 1 Thessalonians, *e.g.* chapter iv. The commandments for the due observance of the Christian life are given us by the Lord Jesus ; they are His, not ours. But these same commandments are the expression of the Will of God, the God who has called us unto holiness, and Who has given unto us His Holy Spirit.

Once more in this same 1 Thessalonians we have another of St. Paul's prayers: "Now may <sup>He</sup> <sup>the</sup> our God and Father <sup>of ours</sup> Himself, and <sup>the</sup> our Lord <sup>of ours</sup> Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you" (1 Thess. iii. 11). It is certainly noteworthy that in the original of this passage we have a verb in the singular number, although it has two subjects grammatically (*κατευθύναι*).

In 2 Thess. ii. 16 we have exactly the same construction: "Now <sup>He</sup> <sup>the</sup> our Lord Jesus Christ <sup>of ours</sup> Himself, and <sup>the</sup> God <sup>of ours</sup> our Father, <sup>the</sup> <sup>of ours</sup> which loved us and gave us eternal comfort and hope through grace, comfort (*παρακαλέσαι*) your hearts and stablish them" (*στηροίξαι*).<sup>\*</sup> No doubt

\* This is well drawn out by the Archbishop of Armagh in the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii. pp. 717, 739. The same point in 1 Thess. iii. 11 is mentioned by A. Juncker in his *Das Gebet bei Paulus*, p. 17, and by W. Bornemann in his *Die Thessalonicherbriefe*, p. 151. See also Dr. Milligan *u.s.*, Dr. Sanday *u.s.*, and Bishop Lightfoot on both passages, *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 48.

2 Thessalonians is still a keenly disputed Epistle,\* although by no means so much as formerly, but here again in this passage we have a singular verb twice, and in both cases with two subjects, marking as before the equality of Father and Son, as also the identity of their working. Not that it has been left for modern scholars alone to note this. We find St. Athanasius writing, "So too when Paul prays for the Thessalonians, in 1 Thess. iii. 11: 'Now God Himself, even our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, may He direct our way into you'; he has guarded the unity of the Father and of the Son. For he has not said, 'May they direct' as if a double grace were given from two sources, This and That, but 'may He direct,' to show that the Father gives it through the Son" (*Against the Arians*, iii. 11). And then remember, again, that in prayer the Apostle would naturally use familiar terms, familiar both to himself and to those whom he would associate with him.

If we ask the date at which the words of 1 Thessalonians were written, we are carried back to a time earlier by several years than that which marks the writing of 2 Corinthians.

And here again, and at this still earlier date, we find the work of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit spoken of, not as something made known for the first time, but already felt and recognized in the Church of Thessalonica.

If we turn to the Epistle to the Galatians we find

\* See, however, Von Dobschütz, *Die Thessalonicher-Briefe*, p. 32 (1909).

ourselves face to face with language of no less significance. Take, *e.g.*, such words as these: "And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, whereby we cry, Abba, Father" (iv. 6). The opening verse of the whole Epistle speaks of grace and peace as coming from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ; the closing verses of the Epistle, whilst they speak to us of our inheritance in the Kingdom of God, speak to us also of the fruits of the Spirit, the Spirit by Whom we live and walk.

It is quite possible that this Galatian Epistle may carry us back to the same year as 1 Thessalonians,\* but however this may be, St. Paul is evidently here, as there, employing familiar terms, and he addresses not one isolated Church, but the Churches of Galatia.

One other significant fact arises out of the Apostle's language in these Epistles. To each and to all of the Churches with which we have been so far concerned, St. Paul speaks of Jesus Christ as God's Son in a manner which is full of importance. He tells these Thessalonians of the living and true God, Whose Son, even Jesus, they were to await from heaven (1 Thess. i. 9), the same Jesus Whom in the opening verse of 1 Thess. he associates with God the Father as the life of the Church, the same Jesus Whom he associates with the Father in the future judgment. He tells the Galatians that "it pleased God to reveal His Son in him" (i. 16), the Son of God, by faith in Whom the Apostle lived his daily

\* See, however, *Introd. to Galatians* by the Rev. A. Lukyn Williams, in the Cambridge Greek Testament.

life (ii. 20); whilst to the Corinthians he speaks of "the Son" absolutely, *i.e.* without any qualifying word: "Then shall the Son also Himself be subjected to Him that did put all things under Him, that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. xv. 28).\* It may, indeed, be readily granted that "Son of God" was a Messianic title. We have the evidence of the Book of Enoch, 2 Esdras, and the language of the Synoptics to that effect.†

But omitting the latter for the moment, the Sonship claimed for Jesus by St. Paul, no less than by St. John, stands alone; it transcends any mere human relationship, it is unique. In that one divine Sonship, whether it was proclaimed by St. Paul or by Timothy, or by Silvanus, all the promises of God had their fulfilment (2 Cor. i. 19). And so it need not surprise us that St. Paul should write from Corinth to the Christians in Rome of God sending "His own" Son (ἐαυτοῦ), of God sparing not "His own" Son (ἰδιος, cf. Rom. viii. 3, 32). The word used by St. Paul in the latter passage is very significant, and we remember how St. John could write, "The Jews sought the more to kill Him because He called God 'His own' Father, R.V. (ἰδιος), making Himself equal with God." And we may well be thankful that the revisers have thus emphasized the words "His own," unnoticed in all previous English versions (although noted in the Vulgate by the word *suus*).

\* See, too, Dr. Denny, *Jesus and the Gospel*, p. 24.

† Mr. Montefiore fully allows that our Lord may well have felt and held himself to be the Son of God both in a Messianic and in a spiritual sense (*i.e.* presumably like any pious Jew), but in all the rest we are told that the Gospel "exaggerates" upon a historic basis (*Synoptic Gospels*, I. xciii.).



If we turn to language which comes to us from this side, as it were, of the Corinthian Epistles, we find the same characteristic phraseology as is presented to us in those earlier writings. In that magnificent appeal, *e.g.*, which St. Paul makes in the Ephesian Epistle, we read of "One Spirit . . . One Lord (*i.e.* Jesus) . . . One God and Father of all" (Ephes. iv. 4), language which at once reminds us of an earlier appeal for love and unity to the Church in Corinth, in which we find mention of "the same Spirit . . . the same Lord . . . the same God" (1 Cor. xii. 4-6).

It must not be forgotten that Ephesians is still one of the Epistles which is most keenly disputed, and it is rejected by Dr. C. Clemen in his *Life of Paul*. But Dr. Clemen has done nothing more than reproduce objections which have been repeatedly made, and we find Prof. Bousset inclining towards an acceptance of St. Paul's authority, whilst Dr. Harnack and Dr. Deismann write with a full recognition of the Apostle's claim.\* It certainly seems strange that Dr. Clemen, who accepts Colossians with the exception of some three or four verses, should not have seen with Dr. Harnack that such an acceptance does

\* See the full and candid defence of St. Paul's authority by E. Haupt, *Die Gefangenschaftsbriege*, p. 82, and Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N.T.*, vol. i. pp. 300 ff. In England reference may be made to Dr. Lock's article "Ephesians" in Hastings' *B.D.*, and to the Bishop of Exeter's article "Ephesians" in the 2nd edition of Smith's *B.D.*; to Dr. Salmond in the 3rd vol. of the *Expositor's Greek Text*, and to Dr. Abbott, "Ephesians and Colossians" in the *International Critical Commentary*. The present writer may refer to other literature in the *Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, pp. 94-111.

away, to a very great extent, with the objections raised against Ephesians.\*

It should also not be forgotten that in the recently discovered and undoubtedly genuine letter of St. Irenæus, there is a very distinct reference to Ephes. iv. 6, and that the Epistle is distinctly stated to come to us from St. Paul. This letter carries us back within the lines of the second century, and it helps to strengthen the large amount of external evidence in support of Ephesians, which Renan long ago regarded as of the highest character. And if we turn for a moment to the language of Colossians, it is none the less remarkable than that which is found in Ephesians. Thus the Epistle opens with thanks to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ—the Father, as we learn, Who hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His Love (i. 13), whilst we are assured that the affection of his converts for the Apostle is love “in the Spirit” (i. 8).

One more note of criticism may be mentioned before we pass to other books.

In the valuable German dictionary of *Religion in the Past and the Present*, which is now issuing from the press, there is an article on the Christology of the early Church, written by Dr. J. Weiss. The writer accepts Colossians as the work of St. Paul. But in the same page he is called upon to deal with Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles. These are no longer the work of the Apostle himself, but of some

\* Harnack, *Chron.*, vol. i. p. 239. For a similar position amongst recent English writers, see Dr. A. S. Peake, *Critical Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 52 (1909).

disciple, some member of St. Paul's school. If we pass to a consideration of St. Peter, we are met with the same assurance that we are dealing, not with St. Peter himself, but with one of his followers and worshippers.\* Could subjectivity in criticism go much further? What can be more arbitrary than for one critic thus to take upon himself to draw the line between what comes to us from the pen of a St. Paul or a St. Peter, and what we owe to one or other of their respective pupils?

But if we still confine ourselves to the generally acknowledged Epistles of St. Paul, we can scarcely fail to see that their readers must have heard much of the revelation of the Three Persons—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. We read, *e.g.*, the first few verses of the Epistle to the Romans, and we can scarcely fail to be struck with the maturity of their theological teaching. We have in these few verses what Dr. Sanday and Dr. Headlam so well call in their *Commentary* a somewhat advanced stage in the discrimination of distinct Persons in the Godhead.

And as we advance further in the teaching of the Epistle, and of the portion in which the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit are more specially set forth, it is noticeable that the Spirit is not merged either in the Father or in the Son. Along with the language of identity there is other language which implies distinction.†

\* *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 19-20, pp. 1733 ff. 1909).

† *Romans*, pp. 17, 200. The prominence given in the New Testament to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is very remarkable, especially when we compare it with the statements of Jewish contemporary

Or we turn to another Epistle which modern criticism fully allows us to claim for St. Paul. In the first chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians we have mention not only of grace and peace as coming to us from God our Father, but also from the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the supply of the Spirit of Jesus. In the opening verses of the second chapter we read, "If there is any comfort in Christ . . . if any fellowship of the Spirit;" in chap. iii. 3, the Apostle speaks of those "who worship by the Spirit of God and glory in Christ Jesus," to whom every tongue is to confess as Lord "to the glory of God the Father" (ii. 11). And here, too, we may notice that the Apostle does not hesitate to speak three times of "the day of Christ," a phrase peculiar to this Epistle, but evidently implying the same phrase as the Apostle uses in his earliest writings, "the day of the Lord," and in his latest writings, "the day," a phrase which every pious Jew would associate with the judgment day of Jehovah.

In the great Christological passage of this Epistle (Phil. ii. 5-11), probably the full significance of the familiar title *Kύριος* may be found. "The universal Lordship of Jesus means universal adoration. Hellenistic Jews recognized in the title *Kύριος* the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament Jehovah."

thought. "With Philo the Spirit of God is no more than the wisdom which God imparts to the wise, or the influence which He exerts over the inspired, and this view became at a later period a settled article of the Jewish creed. On the other hand, the New Testament exhibits an immense advance in this respect upon the doctrine of the older revelation" (Dr. Swete, Art. "Holy Ghost," *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iii. p. 114).

And in this same passage, as also in 1 Cor. viii. 6, Dr. Deissmann sees a Christian protest against all other "lords," and indeed against the title "Lord" as applied to the Roman emperor, a protest which St. Paul's language had in view, as also the Epistle in which St. Jude speaks of "our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ" (ver. 3).\*

But, further, in St. Paul's latest Epistles it would be difficult to find any language at variance with that which is contained in the earliest of his writings. In the latest, as in the earliest Epistles, we see that grace and peace are spoken of as coming to us from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. God the Father and the Lord Jesus are associated together as donors of the highest spiritual gifts (cf. 2 Tim. i. 2). In the latest, as in the earliest, Epistle the good thing committed unto us is to be guarded through the Holy Ghost Who dwelleth in us (2 Tim. i. 14). The Pastoral Epistles are disputed perhaps even more keenly than the Epistle to the Ephesians; but it may be fairly said that Dr. J. Moffatt's attack upon them in the *Encycl. Bibl.* entirely ignores the external evidence in their favour, and that it has been ably met by Dr. Lock's article on the same Epistles in Hastings' *B. D.*

It may be sufficient to say that at this present time these Epistles are referred to St. Paul without hesitation by Sir W. Ramsay in a most valuable series of articles in the *Expositor*, entitled "Historical

\* See especially a valuable article by Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy, "Apostolic Teaching and Emperor Worship," *Expositor*, April, 1909; and Dr. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, p. 257.



Commentary on the First Epistle to Timothy," while if we turn to a very different critic, Mr. F. C. Conybeare, we find that he writes, "Of the Epistles of Paul, very few are now disputed by competent critics. I am disposed to accept as authentic all of them, not excepting the ones addressed to Timothy and Titus" (*Myth, Magic, and Morals*, p. xvi.).\*

You will say, perhaps, that hitherto we have had nothing but the language of St. Paul, and that St. Paul may have been the author of Christianity in this sense, viz. that we owe to him the Christian doctrine which we are discussing. But let us look at one or two considerations before we adopt this hasty conclusion. Whatever differences may have existed between St. Paul and the Twelve, there is no hint that they were divided as to the Person of our Lord, or as to the belief that the revelation vouchsafed to them was that of a Father, a Son, and a Holy Spirit. And when we remember that all the New Testament writers were Monotheists, the wonder is, not that we should find so little, but that we should find so much, which involves nothing short of the acceptance of a Divine Trinity in Unity.†

\* In Germany the Epistles are acknowledged to be St. Paul's by such scholars as Dr. Blass, Dr. Zahn, Dr. Barth, and Dr. Belser. In England they are strongly and fully defended by Pullan, *Books of the New Testament*, p. 195, and by the writers mentioned above, as also by Dean Bernard, the Dean of Canterbury in the *Speaker's Commentary*, *New Testament*, iii., and Dr. Hort.

The *C.Q.R.* for January, 1907, shows how little can be said against the Epistles on the score of *Hapax legomena*. The present writer may refer to the *Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, pp. 121-147, but see also A. S. Peake, *Critical Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 71.

† See the valuable passage in the Dean of Canterbury's Boyle Lectures, *Christianity and Morality*, p. 285, 8th edition.

One of the most distinguished of German writers upon the Creeds, whose work is so widely known in England, Dr. F. Kattenbusch, of Halle, has lately reminded us in somewhat remarkable language that the belief in the deity of Christ did not cancel the belief in the unity of God, and that in the mind of all the Churches Trinitarianism was the only true, even though enigmatic, form of Monotheism (*Die Kirchen und Sekten des Urchristentums in der Gegenwart*, p. 24 (1909)).\* We need not endorse every word of such a statement, but as it comes to us from such a quarter its interest is obvious. In the German dictionary, which is now in course of publication, and to which reference has already been made, there is an article, as we have seen, on the Christology of the Early Church. In it the writer takes up one of the passages to which reference has already been made, Phil. ii. 6, "Who, being in the form of God," and maintains that it really shows the strong monotheism of the writer, in that he does not apply the word "God" to Christ.†

\* The passage in Kattenbusch may be rendered as follows: "In contrast to Judaism there come into consideration, as bonds uniting Christendom, all those points which express a religious valuation of the Person of Jesus. All Churches have a Christology, and the dogma speaks everywhere of the 'deity of Christ.' For all Churches it is self-evident that the dogma does not cancel the unity of God. Historically it is a heritage from Judaism that the belief in one God, Monotheism, stands absolutely secure. But Trinitarianism in the mind of all the Churches is the only true, if enigmatic, form of Monotheism." Dr. Kattenbusch's book forms the 11-12 Hef in the 4th series of the *German Religions-geschichtliche Volksbücher*.

† *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, art. *Christologie des Urchristentums*, p. 1722 (1909). The present writer would refer, for examination of Phil. ii. 6, to the *Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, pp. 118, 119.

But without pressing the expression, which at least means "being originally" (R.V. margin), it would seem to be quite clear that the expression "the form of God" points to a sharing in the essential attributes of God, and the more we insist upon the monotheism of St. Paul, and his strict training therein as a Hebrew of the Hebrews, the more difficult does it become to understand how he can employ such language of One, of whom he speaks in the same breath as suffering the lowest depth of degradation in the death of a criminal on a cross.

Or let us look at the matter for a moment from a somewhat different point of view.

St. Paul and St. Peter were both loyal monotheistic Jews, and yet they do not hesitate to refer to Jesus of Nazareth prophecies which the Old Testament prophets had referred to Jehovah. To take a single instance, St. Paul quotes the words of Joel ii. 32, in a passage the whole context of which evidently refers to Jesus. "Whosoever will call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Rom. x. 13).

St. Peter quotes the same passage with a similar context and in an address which even the most advanced criticism admits to be historical (Acts ii. 21).\*

There are other books of the New Testament the treatment of which would require a whole series

\* On the expression "to call on the Name of the Lord," and its significance as transferred to the early Christians (cf. 1 Cor. i. 2) from the Old Testament phrase referring to those who worshipped and prayed to Jehovah, see *Expositor's Greek Test.*, vol. ii. p. 81; Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, pp. 8 ff.; and also Bachmann on 1 Cor. i. 2 in the *Commentary* edited by Zahn, 1905.

of lectures. But let us consider for a moment the Apocalypse of St. John, and its relation to the subject before us.

Modern criticism, as we are well aware, has by no means said its last word with reference to this book, as to its possible source, its date, its author, its interpretation. But one thing may certainly be affirmed, that no book of the New Testament has a higher Christology. Not only is Jesus exalted to be King of kings and Lord of lords,\* but He shares the throne of God; He is Himself the Alpha and the Omega; He is the agent in creation; He is the arbiter and the goal of human destiny; the prerogatives of Jehovah are shared by Him. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that in the opening verses of the first chapter, the source from which the grace and peace which the writer invokes is derived may be described as threefold in its nature, and that we may find in the words employed an allusion to the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity.

Salvation is ascribed to God on the throne, and in the same breath to the Lamb (vii. 10), whilst the message to the Churches as to the use of this salvation is the message of the Spirit: "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches."

We have been reminded that the Apocalypse is

\* It is interesting to compare the titles of the emperors, "our absolute Lords, most mighty, most divine," with the combination so frequent in the Apocalypse, "the Lord God omnipotent reigneth," already found in the LXX.; "That, in turn, brings into bolder relief the full content of *Κύριος* as applied to Jesus Christ," so Kennedy, "Apostolic Preaching and Emperor Worship," *Expositor*, April, 1909.

in reality the first definite apocalyptic composition in Christian literature, and that it is an invaluable document, not merely for the light which it may throw upon the political and social situation of Christianity at the close of the first century (?), but also because it proves to us the amazing vitality of the Christian spirit. Compare it, *e.g.*, with 4 Esdras, the queen of Jewish Apocalypses in that age, and its superiority is manifest. To this, no doubt, its moral force and piety contributed. Yes; but there is a further question to be faced: from whence were this moral force and piety drawn? from the revelation which pervades the book from beginning to end, the revelation of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. But even if we refuse to allow that the Apocalypse was the work of the beloved disciple St. John,\* we have in it a remarkable picture of early Christian belief before the close of the first century.† It is interesting

\* In this case, however, we have to face Sir W. Ramsay, Dr. J. Drummond, Dr. Findlay, Dr. Zahn, M. Jacquier.

† See a review of Dr. Swete's *Apocalypse*, by Dr. Sanday in *J. T. S.*, July, 1907. Even if we assign the later date to the Apocalypse, we see that the branch of the Church to which the author belongs was at all events independent of St. Paul. The author is a Jew, probably a Jew of Palestine, and he brings with him to Asia Minor the beliefs of his former home. Dr. Sanday concludes, "The Apocalypse thus supplies welcome evidence of a line of teaching that is parallel to St. Paul's, and that really goes back behind his. The point on which most turns is naturally the Christology. It is not necessary for us to go into this at length, for it is impossible to read even the opening verses and the rest of the first chapter without seeing that fundamentally the Christology is that which has been held by the Church Universal. This one chapter is enough to dispose of the theory that has obtained some currency in recent years that the Church owes its doctrine of the Person of Christ to the initiation of St. Paul."



to note that Dr. Harnack considers it to be the one New Testament book as to the date of which there can be no doubt, and he places it at 93 A.D.

We are asked, it is true, to regard the book as coming to us from the presbyter John, whilst we are further assured that he was a close acquaintance of the disciple St. John, and that he learnt from him. Can we then suppose that the presbyter's view as to the deity of Christ and as to the divine nature and work of the Holy Spirit differed from that of his teacher?

For another New Testament book not less important for our subject, the Epistle to the Hebrews, we may be content to take again the date of Dr. Harnack, who assigns it to the reign of Domitian (81-96), although he admits that it may have been earlier.\*

At all events, we have here again a book which witnesses to the high place assigned, before the close of the first century, in Christian thought to the Person of our Lord and to the Person of the Holy Spirit.

As we read the opening verses of the Epistle we are at once reminded of the prologue of the fourth Gospel. And although it may be said that the action of the Holy Spirit falls into the background in this Epistle from the characteristic view which is given us of the priestly work of Christ, yet we can scarcely fail to note the significance of more than one passage.

Mention, *e.g.*, is made of those who have been

\* Amongst recent critics we find that Mr. F. C. Conybeare maintains that the Epistle is clearly anterior to A.D. 70 (*Myth, Magic, and Morals*, p. xvii.).

partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, of whom it is also written that if they fall away, they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh. Or, again, mention is made of those who have trodden underfoot the Son of God, and have counted the blood of the Covenant an unholy thing, and have shown despite unto the Spirit of Grace.

Here, in such passages, we have the mention of the Son of God, and of the Covenant which He ratified by His blood, as in the days of old the Covenant with the Lord God Jehovah was ratified in blood; and, further, as involving equal guilt with the treading underfoot the Son of God, the outrage done to the Spirit of Grace.

In directing our attention to the historical books, it is important to remember that the early addresses of St. Peter in the opening chapters of the Acts are ascribed, even by Dr. Schmiedel and by Dr. Joannes Weiss, to a primitive document, and that this view finds countenance in the description of our Lord's Person which these chapters contain. But is it always borne in mind how much St. Peter's words involve? Let us take but one passage only. St. Peter is addressing his countrymen on the birthday of the Christian Church. He reminds them of the familiar prophecy of Joel, in which God, the Lord Jehovah, is spoken of as pouring out of His Spirit upon all flesh. But as they listened these men must have been surprised to find that St. Peter does not hesitate to ascribe the same divine energy to the exalted Jesus, "being therefore by the right hand of

God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, He hath poured forth this which ye see and hear" (Acts ii. 33). Such language amply justifies us in saying that in the Christian Church faith in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit was recognized from the outset.

No doubt it may be said that even in the Christology of the later portion of the Acts the title "Son of God" is only found once. But we have already seen that St. Paul in his epistles uses the term as denoting a unique relationship between the Father and the Son, and his proclamation, after his conversion, of Jesus in the synagogues of Damascus as the Son of God (Acts ix. 20) presents a striking agreement with his language to the Galatians, in which he refers to the good pleasure of God "to reveal His Son" in him (Gal. i. 16), the Son Whom God sent forth in the fulness of time that He might "redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" (Gal. iv. 4-6).<sup>\*</sup> Certainly there is no analogy between St. Paul's use of the title "Son of God" and the application of it to some Roman emperor, who was so called because his father, after death, had been ranked amongst the gods. The marvellous thing in the Acts is that St. Paul, zealous Jew as he had been, places repentance towards God and faith towards the Lord Jesus as it were on the same level, and as equally forming a part of his testimony both to Jews and to Gentiles alike (Acts xx. 21), whilst in the same breath he testifies to the

<sup>\*</sup> See further on this passage Dr. Chase, *Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 174 ff.

divine guidance of the Holy Ghost, both in his own life and in the life of the Church (Acts xx. 23, 28).\*

It is not, of course, forgotten that the testimony of St. Peter is not confined to the Acts; but even if we adopt the later date assigned to the Apostle's First Epistle by Sir W. Ramsay, we are by no means prevented from regarding the contents of that Epistle as coming to us from St. Peter. And if so, we can scarcely overrate the significance of its opening words, "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion . . . according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, in sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ."† But in that

\* For an examination in detail of Acts xx. 19-28, the present writer would refer to the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, ii., *in loco*.

† Dr. Hort, *First Epistle of St. Peter*, *in loco*, makes a most important comment: "The three clauses of this verse beyond all reasonable doubt set forth the operation of the Father, the Holy Spirit, and the Son respectively. Here, therefore, as in several Epistles of St. Paul (1 Cor. xii. 4-6; 2 Cor. xiii. 14; Ephes. iv. 4-6), there is an implicit reference to the Threefold Name. . . . How such an idea could arise in the mind of any Apostle without sanction from a Word of the Lord, it is difficult to imagine, and this consideration is a sufficient answer to the doubts which have been raised whether Matt. xxviii. 19 may not have been added or recast by a later generation." Dr. Plummer (*St. Matthew*, p. 432) gives many other passages in which the knowledge of the Trinitarian doctrine is evidently presupposed; e.g. 2 Thess. ii. 13-15; Ephes. ii. 18, iii. 14-17; Heb. vi. 4-6; 1 John iii. 23, 24, iv. 2; Rev. i. 4, 5; Jude, 20, 21.

And with this list we may compare the passages referred to from a similar point of view by Dr. Swete (*Appearances of our Lord after the Passion*, p. 77): 2 Cor. xiii. 14; Ephes. iv. 4, 5; 1 Pet. i. 2; Rev. i. 4, 5.

The language of another of the Catholic Epistles, St. Jude, as compared with that of St. Peter, is very strong. St. Jude bids his converts in one and the same breath to pray in the Holy Spirit, to keep themselves in the love of God, and to look for the mercy of our Lord Jesus

same early portion of the Acts to which reference has been made there is a still earlier passage which bears upon it in some respects a primitive character. We read in Acts i. 4 that "he charged them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which, said he, ye heard from me"; and the promise, as the immediate context shows us, was the gift of the Holy Spirit. The words, like those in the Christology of St. Peter (Acts ii. 33) with their reference to the same promise, were written long before the Gospel of St. John, but they are best interpreted by a recollection of our Lord's farewell utterances as they are given to us in St. John's Gospel. If our Lord spoke in the manner which St. John's Gospel maintains, then the language of St. Peter and St. Paul, such language, *e.g.*, as that which we find in Rom. viii., of the work and help of the Holy Spirit, finds its full and ample justification.

But you will say, perhaps, did our Lord so speak?

Bishop Westcott believes that He did, and that St. John, taught by the Holy Spirit, remembered His words. Dr. Hort (*Life and Letters*, vol. ii. p. 278) writes: "The discourses seem to me to have the ring of solid fact even more than the narratives." Turn back for a moment to the great name of Neander, and listen to him as he tells us that "John would not have been *John*, had it been possible for him to forget such discourses of Christ." Recent criticism, you will say, takes a different line; but even so, Dr.

Christ unto eternal life. For a full list of the Trinitarian statements in various passages of the New Testament, P. Feine, *Theologie des N.T.*, p. 222 (1910), will be found useful.



Wendt, whose work upon the fourth Gospel has attracted so much attention, can assure us that although the discourses were altered in passing through St. John's mind, yet the substance of them can be trusted.

Whilst a writer in the *Hibbert Journal* was calmly informing us that any modern scholar who upholds the apostolic authority of the fourth Gospel is as much wanting in insight as the most decided upholders of the view that the Pauline Epistles were concocted in the second century, Dr. James Drummond, the Principal of the Unitarian College at Oxford, had just published his masterly and exhaustive proof that all the evidence points to St. John's authorship, a view which he himself frankly endorses. In one of the most beautiful passages in this defence, he bids us remember that "the author of the Gospel writes out of the fulness of his own inward experience . . . . Did he not enjoy the exalted communion of Love, with its open vision of the Beloved, with its indwelling of the Father and the Son, with its Holy Spirit of Truth, which the world in all its cleverness and knowledge cannot see? Such was the 'theologian,' as the ancients called him; not the framer of bare dogmas, not the architect of a system, not the disputer of the world, but one who out of the depths of his loving heart told not only to his own generation, but to generations far distant in time and country, where he had found the secret of eternal life." \*

\* *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 26, and cf. Dr. Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 169. The present

Nor must we forget that there is a famous passage contained in two of the Synoptic Gospels which so strikingly resembles the phraseology of St. John's Gospel that it has been called, and not unjustly, an aerolite from the Johannean heaven: "All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father: and no one knoweth the Son save the Father; neither doth any know the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him" (St. Matt. xi. 27; St. Luke x. 22).

Needless to say, the most determined attempts have been made to get rid of the force of this language, or to deny that our Lord ever used it. Dr. Harnack, *e.g.*, although he does not deny that Jesus spoke such words, or words very similar, weakens their force and their meaning.\* But the best criticism of his statements may be found in Dr. Swete's helpful volume, entitled *Studies in the Teaching of our Lord*. "The knowledge claimed is that of a Son, and it rests upon Sonship; it is a strange misreading of the words which reverses this order, as Professor Harnack seems to do; it is not knowledge which makes Christ 'the Son,' but Sonship which enables Him to know."†

The Abbé Loisy does not allow that our Lord spoke these words, but that they come to us from some primitive Church tradition, and he goes so far

writer may venture to refer to *Literary Criticism of the New Testament*, pp. 25-43, and to *Die Parallelen in den Worten Jesu bei Johannes und Matthäus*, by Prof. A. Schlatter.

\* See below, p. 85.

† See too *Die Parallelen in den Worten Jesu bei Johannes und Matthäus*, p. 43, by Prof. Schlatter.

as to say that they were derived, in part at all events, from Ecclesiasticus li.\*

But more than one representative writer of the liberal school of theology in France refuses to follow the Abbé Loisy in thus rejecting a passage of which Keim long ago affirmed that there is no more violent criticism than that which Strauss introduced in repudiating a passage so strongly attested. Moreover, the alleged dependencies upon Ecclesiasticus li. are far from convincing. In some particulars the likenesses are such as might be found on the lips of any Jewish speaker, and whilst the points of comparison are pressed, the points of contrast are entirely omitted. For example, Jesus the son of Sirach in *his* prayer thanks God because He has hearkened to him, and delivered him from peril; our Lord in *His* prayer thanks the Father for revealing to babes that which had been concealed from the wise and prudent.†

It is further noticeable that Dr. Zahn, in his great Commentary on St. Matthew, whilst he allows that our Lord may have read the writing of Jesus the son of Sirach, has no doubt that He uttered the words which both St. Matthew and St. Luke attribute to Him, and he inclines to the view that these notable words may have been known to St. Paul (*Evangelium des Matthäus*, pp. 436-440).‡

\* On this and similar attempts to get rid of the form of the words, see amongst recent critics P. Feine, *Theologie des N.T.*, p. 46 (1910).

† See the valuable book of M. Lepin, *Jésus Messie et Fils de Dieu*, with its Appendix on M. Loisy's position.

‡ On the modification of the words by Dr. Harnack in "Q," see below, p. 85. Cf. also the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July (1909), and P. Feine, *Theologie des N.T.*, p. 46 (1910).

We might dwell upon the fact, if time permitted, that another and probably the earliest of our Gospels uses the titles "the Father," "the Son" absolutely, as does the Gospel of St. John, and that the words, as they are used, assign to our Lord a unique relationship to God: "But of that day and that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" (St. Mark xiii. 32). If such words are suspected, we can fairly ask who would be likely to introduce them? \* It is at least of interest to note in passing that Dr. Schmiedel does not attempt to deny that our Lord uttered the words recorded by St. Mark. And although, of course, he uses them for his own purposes of exegesis, we may now take it that this representative of the most advanced criticism allows us to regard this verse in St. Mark as an utterance of our Lord Himself.

But you will no doubt have already anticipated in thought another passage which, if it really contains our Lord's words, makes the language of St. Paul with which we started fully intelligible—the Baptismal formula of Matt. xxviii. 19.

If our Lord had taught His disciples thus to place side by side the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, then we can understand why St. Paul should invoke the blessing of the same three Persons upon the Churches which he had founded, and that

\* On this verse in St. Mark the comments of the Dean of Westminster (*Study of the Gospels*, p. 119) should be consulted; also Dr. Denny, *Jesus and the Gospel*, p. 872; and A. S. Peake, *Critical Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 218.

he should regard their Presence as the source of all spiritual life and blessing.

It has become a kind of fashion in the present day to maintain that our Lord never spoke these words, and any one would suppose, from the manner in which they are ruled out of court by Dr. Harnack and others,\* that there was weighty technical evidence against them.

As a matter of fact, there is nothing of the kind.†

\* See, e.g., Dr. G. Krüger, *Das Dogma von der Dreieinigkeit und Gottmenschheit in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, pp. 42-49 (in the series of *Lebensfragen* edited by H. Weinel): 1905.

Dr. Krüger dedicates his book to Dr. Harnack, and he seems to anticipate some of the views put forth by the latter as to the source of the doctrine of the Trinity (see further the note at the end of this paper on Dr. Harnack's recent statement in his *Verfassung und Recht der Alten Kirche*, pp. 187-198 (1910).

Dr. Krüger maintains that liturgical necessities and liturgical customs called forth the expression of the doctrine of the Trinity (cf. Numb. vi. 24), and the number three was regarded as sacred in many religions. But it is of interest to note that Krüger evidently thinks it better (so too Harnack) not to attach too much weight to the influence of polytheistic religions, such as those of India and Babylon, upon Christianity.

An adequate reply to Mr. F. C. Conybeare's assertion that the source of the doctrine of the Trinity may be found in Philo (*Myth, Magic, and Morals*, p. 355) is given in Dr. James Drummond's article "Philo," Dr. Hastings' New Testament supplementary volume, p. 204. Even the most striking passages in Philo do not prove the separate personality of the divine powers in their relation to God. And the titles the king and the father in Philo, of which Mr. Conybeare makes so much, are evidently used by the Jewish philosopher symbolically or allegorically. At this time of day it seems quite unnecessary to do more than call attention to the fundamental differences between Philo's Logos or Son and the Christian doctrine of the Logos and the Son. See further on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, p. 60 above.

† "The question of the genuineness of the verse may be answered with the utmost confidence. The verse is found in every extant Greek manuscript, whether uncial or cursive, and in every extant version



Moreover, the words come to us from the most Jewish of the Gospels, and it is refreshing to see how Dr. Zahn, in his Commentary on St. Matthew (p. 711), deals with the objections urged against this verse by Mr. F. C. Conybeare. A full examination of Mr. Conybeare's arguments will be found in a pamphlet by Riggenbach in a most useful series published in Germany for the advancement of Christian Theology (*Der Trinitarische Taufbefehl*, Matt. xxviii. 19 (1903)).

Let us look at the matter for a moment. Mr. Conybeare lays great stress upon the fact that in Eusebius we frequently have the command to baptize "in My Name," and that the Trinitarian formula is often ignored. But he does not seem conscious of the fact that Eusebius constantly quotes with considerable freedom, and that he only quotes words necessary for the context, and that in some instances adduced there was manifestly no need for Eusebius to cite the longer formula of baptism, or

which contains this portion of Mt. In a few witnesses the conclusion of the Gospel is wanting, but there is no reason for believing that in these witnesses the verse or any portion of it was omitted" (Dr. Plummer's *St. Matthew*, p. 431). The chief argument adduced by Mr. F. C. Conybeare as to the testimony of Eusebius of Cæsarea is fully met by the Bishop of Ely (as also by Riggenbach) in his article, "The Lord's Command to Baptize" (*Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1905, pp. 484 ff.). "Eusebius" (writes Dr. Plummer, in a summary of Dr. Chase's arguments) "quotes the verse, with the command to baptize into the name of the Trinity, when he requires the command for his purpose; when he requires the rest of the verse and not the command, he omits the latter." In dealing with the textual criticism, Dr. Chase says, "the whole evidence—such I believe must be the verdict of scientific criticism—establishes without a shadow of doubt or uncertainty the genuineness of Matt. xxviii. 19."

even any baptismal formula. Eusebius, *e.g.*, is commenting on Isaiah ii. 3: "For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." Eusebius sees in the Gospel preaching, starting from Jerusalem and going through the nations, a fulfilment of this prophecy, and he quotes, in connection with the new covenant and the new instruction, only so much of Matt. xxviii. 19 as is necessary to illustrate his point: "Go ye, and make disciples of all the nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."\* Mr. Conybeare further urges that the Trinitarian formula is only found in those writings of Eusebius which are later than the Nicene Council.

But even if this is so, it is somewhat unfortunate for Mr. Conybeare that seven out of the thirteen passages in which the shorter formula to baptize in the Name of Christ occurs, are also to be dated *after* the Nicene Council.†

But this short formula, it will be said, "in the Name of Christ" or "into the Name of Christ," is that which is given in the earliest chapters of the Acts. And it has been very recently suggested that this shorter formula was used for Jews or proselytes, whilst for Gentiles who came into the Church from heathendom, and had not received, as in the case of the Jew, instruction as to One God, the Father, or as

\* Riggenbach, *Der Trinitarische Taufbefehl*, p. 11.

† Riggenbach, *u.s.*, p. 25. For a decided endorsement of Riggenbach's arguments, see especially amongst recent critics, P. Feine, *Theologie des N.T.*, p. 220 (1910), and Jules Lebreton, *Histoire du Dogme de la Trinité des Origines à Saint Augustin*, p. 488.

to a Holy Spirit, the longer formula was more appropriate. Such a view seems to throw light upon the close sequence of the two commands to make disciples of "all the nations," and to baptize them, etc.\*

But however this may be, if we ask why, as we trace the course of early Church history, the Trinitarian formula supplanted the simpler and shorter formula, the only answer, as Riggensbach justly maintains, is this: that the Church was persuaded of the authenticity of the words of Jesus in Matt. xxviii. 19, and of the authority which belonged to the parting words of the Risen Lord. Dr. Riggensbach does not forget the testimony of the *Didache* to the Trinitarian formula, but he thinks that it did not possess sufficient authority to bring about the substitution of the Trinitarian for the simpler formula in the second century.

It is, of course, quite fair to say that in the *Didache* both formulæ are found, of baptism in the Name of Christ, and of baptism in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (cf. ch. vii. and ix.). For there can be no doubt that when the *Didache* speaks of those who have been baptized into the Name of the Lord, the context shows us that by the Lord is meant the Christ.

It would seem, therefore, that in the closing years

\* See the interesting remarks of Dr. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part II, p. 357 (1907). Cf. also Dean Plumptre in Ellicott's *Commentary on St. Matt.*, *in loco*. Amongst the other commentators to the same effect, cf. Bengel, *Gnomon*, St. Matt, xxviii. 19.

of the first century, or the early years of the second, in which the *Didache* may be fairly placed, the two formulæ were found side by side, and there was no apparent sense of inconsistency in this double use.\*

The difficulty is that we cannot place our hands upon any single instance in the New Testament of baptism in the Name of the Holy Trinity.

Prof. Kirsopp Lake enlarges upon this in his recent article on "Early Christian Baptism" (Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii. p. 380). He tells us "that the mention of a formula in connection with early Christian baptism, whether in the Acts or in the Epistles, is always in the Name, or into the Name of Christ, or into Christ, and he asks, Is it possible to reconcile these facts with the belief that Christ commanded His disciples to baptize in the triune Name? The obvious explanation of the silence of the New Testament on the triune Name, and the use of another formula in the Acts and Paul, is that the other formula was the earlier, and that the triune formula is a later addition."

But the question which Prof. Lake ought to face—(and he is speaking, not of Christian *doctrine*, but of the formula of Christian *baptism*)—is this: Why was such an addition made at all? must it not have had some authority behind it to warrant and explain its introduction at any time?

\* See for the date article "Didache," supplementary volume of Hastings' *B.D.*, p. 448. Dr. Zahn, in his article referred to above, remarks that it is unfortunate that there is no possibility of fixing either the date or provenance with certainty. This may be true of the provenance, but it is a somewhat dogmatic utterance in relation to the date.

Of this difficulty Prof. Lake says nothing except to allude to the "curious" attempts summarized by Dr. Plummer to explain it.\*

One of these "curious" attempts comes to us, at all events, from no less a scholar than Dr. Zahn, who points out that it is by no means certain that in Acts ii. 38, or viii. 16, any definite baptismal formula is employed, and that if it is we must also face the fact that in Gal. iii. 27 and Rom. vi. 3 two other formulæ appear to have been used (Zahn, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, p. 713).

It has indeed been very recently and very forcibly urged that the words of Matt. xxviii. 19 may be explained, not as a formula prescribed by our Lord for baptism, but as declaring what discipleship really involved on entering into the fellowship of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.† And so the Bishop of Ely endorses the words of Bishop Westcott, "How few readers of the A.V. could enter into the meaning of this baptismal formula, the charter of our life! but now, when we reflect on the words 'make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into (not *in*) the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' we come to know what is the mystery of our

\* Dr. Plummer, in his *St. Matthew*, p. 435, makes the important remark that "the evidence contained in Matt. xxviii. 19 is no doubt later than that contained in the Epistles of St. Paul; but we are not justified in saying that it is later than the evidence contained in Acts. As a document, the first Gospel, including this verse, must be placed earlier than Acts."

† So Dr. Plummer, *St. Matthew*, p. 433; Archdeacon Allen, *St. Matthew*, p. 307; and with these two commentaries, cf. Dr. Swete, *Appearances of our Lord after the Passion*, p. 75, and the remarks of P. Feine, *Theologie des N.T.*, p. 221 (1910).



incorporation into the body of Christ" (*Some Lessons of the R.V. of the New Testament*, p. 62).\*

In this connection Dr. Deissmann's explanation of the phrase "to baptize into the Name of Christ" is very valuable, as he points out that its meaning is that the baptized person henceforth belongs to Christ (*Bibelstudien*, p. 145). And if we carry on the same thought to the phrase of the R.V. in Matt. xxviii. 19, we may see that baptism "into the Name" entrusts and commits the believer to the care and power of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.†

The words, therefore, in Matt. xxviii. 19, even if they do not constitute a *ritual* formula, constitute undoubtedly, as Dr. Stanton reminds us, a *doctrinal* formula, and that, too, a formula of inestimable value.

But is not Dr. Stanton justified in adding that the natural impression which we gain from the passage in St. Matthew and passages in the Acts is that the Name of Christ, or the Name of the Trinity, was actually brought in at the time of baptism? There

\* See Dr. Chase's most valuable article, "The Lord's Command to baptize," *J.T.S.*, July, 1905.

† "The name of the triune God was to be to the believers all and more than all that the name of Jehovah had been to the Jews. To be baptized into that name was to be consigned to the loving, redeeming, sanctifying power of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost" (*A Commentary on the Revised Version*, p. 68: W. G. Humphry (one of the revisers)).

Another important passage may be quoted. "If we suppose with Haupt that Matt. xxviii. 19 is not a formula of baptism, but a summary by the Evangelist of Christ's teachings on baptism and what it meant, we reach the same result: the only expression of faith and baptism that Jesus taught meant sharing the redemption of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost" (article "Trinity," Dr. Hugh M. Scott in *Hastings' B.D.*, supplementary volume, p. 314).

is nothing in the explanation which Dr. Deissmann gives of the phrase "into the name" to militate against this.

But whilst Dr. Harnack and his followers are not prepared to admit that the words in question were spoken by our Lord, the defenders of the words maintain with a reasonable subjectivity that some such language does but express that which had already been implied throughout in the teaching of Jesus, and by the facts of His life, that it best explains the frequent employment of Trinitarian doctrine by the New Testament writers.\* Presuppose that our Lord used such language, and 2 Cor. xiii. 14, with which we started, becomes intelligible; deny that He used such language, and we fail to understand how St. Paul could pray the prayer which closed his message to the Church in Corinth.

"The history and origin of the conception of the Trinity lie outside the story and the age of Jesus." So writes Mr. Montefiore in his *Commentary* on the Gospels in relation to Matt. xxviii. 19, and he dismisses the words with Mr. Conybeare as a late interpolation. But we have seen that the conception of the Trinity is bound up inseparably with the language of some of the earliest books of the New Testament, and the Trinitarian formula in baptism became the baptismal formula of the whole Catholic

\* See, further, Dr. Plummer, *St. Matthew*, p. 432; and Dr. Swete's paper in the *Expositor*, October, 1902, on Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, read to the Clergy Training School at Westcott House. Dr. Swete points out, amongst other things, the consistency of the words with the majesty of the scene, with which we may compare the language of Zahn in the same connection (*Evangelium des Matthäus*, p. 710).

Church, because it had its origin in the story and the age of Jesus.\*

Reference indeed has been recently made to the

\* In the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity seems to be clearly referred to in the *Vision* section. But Dr. Charles points out that the conception of the Trinity is here peculiar. For whilst it is true that the Son and the Holy Spirit receive adoration and worship, they in turn worship God (cf. ix. 27-40; see *Ascension of Isaiah*, edit. Dr. Charles, p. xii.). The date of the *Vision* section according to Dr. Charles is noteworthy, viz. 80-100 A.D., but Dr. Harnack would place it in the third century A.D. (see Prof. H. T. Andrews, *Apocryphal Books*, p. 97).

But equally, if not more, remarkable are the references to this doctrine in the recently discovered *Odes of Solomon*, of the first or of the early part of the second century (cf. e.g., *Odes*, 3, 19, 93). Harnack, however, maintains that at all events much of the Christian language in these *Odes* is an interpolation. This is, of course, in accordance with his theory that the *Odes* were originally Jewish, but that they received Christian additions (a view adopted also by Dr. Cheyne, *Hibbert Journal*, p. 207, Oct. 1910). But Haussleiter, in a full and valuable article (*Theol. Literaturblatt*, June 10, 1910), justly criticizes Dr. Harnack's position, and maintains that if in the third Ode the seventh verse speaks of the Lord Most High, and the twelfth verse speaks of the Spirit of the Lord, there is no reason why the mention of the Son in verse 9 is to be put down as a Christian interpolation, as Dr. Harnack affirms.

Dr. R. Harris regards Ode 19, in which there is a clear reference to the Holy Trinity, as fantastic, and he thinks that we must depress its date to the second century, as also the reference in it to the Virgin Birth. Harnack regards this Ode as Christian, and points out that such conceptions of the Virgin Birth which it contains were common at the beginning of the second century or earlier.

In Ode 23, which Dr. R. Harris speaks of as the most difficult in the whole collection, there is a further distinct reference to the Holy Trinity in verse 19, where it is said of the sealed document, which descends from heaven, that the name of the Father was on it, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, to rule for ever and ever. Dr. Harnack, as we might expect, regards the whole verse as another Christian interpolation, but even so the passage does not seem to be later than the early part of the second century. See, further, on the *Odes of Solomon*, pp. 18, 32 above.

“simple creed” of Aphraates, bishop of Edessa in the fourth century, within some twenty years or so of the meeting of the Nicene Council. And it has been suggested that we might go back with advantage to some such creed as a means of relieving the scruples of tender consciences, and of drawing Churchmen and Nonconformists more closely together.

But those who put forward such suggestions seem to have forgotten that Aphraates most definitely held the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the Syrian-speaking Church, as he himself tells us, baptized into the triple Name.

It is quite true that there are some passages in the writings of Aphraates, which, taken by themselves and apart from their avowed purpose, fall short of an acknowledgment of our Lord's Godhead ; but these passages are controversial and employed against Jewish adversaries. Thus it is urged that Moses is called God, and Israel Son and Firstborn, and that it is therefore unfair on the part of the Jews to bring an accusation against the Christians of blasphemy in designating Jesus as God. Are we, then, to suppose that Aphraates regarded Jesus as being called God in the same way as the title was given to a Moses or the title Son of God to an Israel or to a Solomon ? By no means ; Aphraates not only prefaces these arguments by affirming that Jesus our Lord is God, the Son of God, Light from Light, but he evidently thinks of Him as fulfilling the great prophecies of the Old Testament (as, *e.g.*, Isai. ix. 6), and he asks, Why should we not *worship* Jesus, through whom we know God ?

Elsewhere we find him in a doxology ascribing "glory and honour to the Father, and to His Son, and to His Spirit," and speaking, it would seem, of this Son "Who came and put on a Body from Mary the Virgin, of the seed of the house of David, from the Holy Spirit." \*

Professor Burkitt, in fact, does not hesitate to say that Aphraates held the two main positions of Christian belief as strongly as the author of the *Quicumque vult*,† whilst the circumstance that he lived outside the Roman empire and enjoyed a culture apart from the subtleties of Greek philosophic thought might well account for the language of his writings and of his Creed.‡

But we must never forget that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in the New Testament is not primarily a philosophical statement, but a moral and a spiritual revelation. We search in vain in the Gospels or in the Epistles for philosophical terms to express this doctrine ; it is expressed for us, not in the language of the schools, but in words which are concerned

\* See especially *Journal of Theological Studies*, p. 267, Jan. 1908, article by H. Leonard Pass on "The Creed of Aphraates ;" and "The Early Syriac Creed," by R. H. Connolly, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristenthums*, especially pp. 207, 212, on our Lord's Virgin Birth ; and on the whole subject the valuable remarks of Prof. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, pp. 81-94, and *Inaugural Lectures* (Manchester University, 1909), p. 255.

† See Burkitt, *u.s.*, p. 94 : "On the one hand, he was wholly penetrated by the monotheism of the 'Catholic Religion' ; on the other, his loyalty and devotion to his Lord assured him that no title or homage was too exalted for Christians to give to Jesus Christ, through whom they had union with the Divine Nature."

‡ *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 93.



with personal relationships of the deepest moral and spiritual import.\*

Men see before them, in the perusal of the Gospels, a gracious and a human Form, full of grace and truth, full of the beauty of holiness; they hear from the lips of Jesus of Nazareth the claim to be the Revealer of the Father, to be One with the Father; they mark that in life and in death His will is to do the will of the Father; they see in His life a manifestation of the life and love of God—"it is more blessed to give than to receive." Such a vision of the divine life answers to the deepest cravings of the human heart; it makes a demand upon men to which in their highest moments they would fain respond with mind and soul and strength. And yet as there passes before them the vision of the King in His beauty, they are ready to exclaim, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord." And lo! even as they cry, the cry of fear is changed into an "Abba, Father." The Spirit Itself beareth witness with our spirits that we are the sons of God and heirs through Christ. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity is a spiritual and moral, and withal a practical revelation.

The writer of these pages happened to be in Westminster Abbey a few years ago, on the Sunday following the attack of the Russian warships on our

\* Dean of Canterbury, *Boyle Lectures*, pp. 275 ff., 8th edition; Dr. Illingworth, *Personality, Human and Divine*, pp. 38 ff., and *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, 1907; and Edghill, *Faith and Fact: a Study in Ritschlianism*, p. 164 (1910); cf. also Dr. Dawson Walker, *One God or Three?* p. 28 (1908).

northern fishermen's fleet. By a striking coincidence the sermon was preached on behalf of the Missions for Seamen, and the hymn before the sermon was "Eternal Father, strong to save." One may venture to say that there were few persons in the Abbey that morning who did not feel that each verse of the hymn was full of practical meaning for themselves and for their brethren.

The Father, strong to save, revealed so clearly and beyond all doubt in His Son ; Whose Voice the waters heard ; the Holy Spirit, giving, for wild confusion, peace—here was a Trinity of love and power, made known to us in the teaching of Bible and Church alike, speaking to the inmost souls of all who worshipped in spirit and in truth.

And if we look back for a moment upon the earliest days of the Church's history, we come upon proof after proof of the practical nature of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity for worship and work alike. Take, *e.g.*, one of our earliest hymns, "Hail, gladdening Light," which carries us back possibly to the second Christian century—

"Coming now unto the sunset, seeing now the light of evening,  
We hymn the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God."

Or can we recall without emotion, in days marked by an educational controversy of exceeding bitterness, the early years of the third century, when a Christian was allowed to embrace the profession of a school-master (to which it would seem that few Christians belonged), but only on one condition—that he repeated always before his lesson the words of his

Creed, "Non est Deus, nisi Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus."

Moreover, it is most important that the practical bearing of the doctrine before us is never forgotten, but is rather emphasized, by St. Athanasius, whether he is defending the Deity of Christ at Nicæa, or, at a later date, the Deity of the Holy Spirit.\*

Thus he points out that to call God Father surpasses calling Him Unoriginated. The latter term is non-scriptural, the former, simple and scriptural, alone implying the Son; and whilst "Unoriginated" is a word of the Greeks who know not the Son, "Father" is acknowledged and vouchsafed by our Lord Himself and His language. And in order to bring the matter home even more closely, he adds, "When He teaches us to pray, He says not 'When you pray, say, O God Unoriginated,' but rather 'When you pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven.' And it was His will that the summary of our Faith should have the same bearing. For He has bid us be baptized, not into the name of Unoriginate and Originate, not into the name of Uncreate and Creature, but into the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" (*De Decretis, or Defence of the Nicene Definition*, 30, 31).

In this passage, which by no means stands alone, we may notice in the first place two things: (1) the

\* See article, "Athanasius," p. 172 in vol. ii. of Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. It is interesting to note that Athanasius in unfolding his doctrine of the Holy Spirit to Serapion, appeals to 2 Cor. xiii. 14, and explains Ephes. iv. 6, as referring to the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit.

adherence of St. Athanasius, here and elsewhere, to the words of scripture ; (2) the assertion that the Catholic Church did not originate by such terms as Unoriginated, rash speculations into the nature of the Godhead.

In his description of the Nicene Council, Athanasius explains that "as to the Arians' complaint about non-scriptural phrases, they themselves are evidence of its futility. It was they who began with their impious expressions ; for, after their 'Out of nothing,' and 'Once was not,' going beyond Scripture in order to be impious, now they make it a grievance, that in condemning them we go beyond Scripture, in order to be pious" (Cf. *Ep. ad Afros*, 5, 6).\*

Moreover, we are here reminded that St. Athanasius was not contending for a mere rhetorical or verbal triumph, but that, as he once expressed it to the Egyptian bishops, "We are contending for our all." And his Easter Letters, written year after year to his beloved flock, show us what, as against Jews and Arians alike, was the foundation of his faith and its whole sustaining power. "Who shall separate us from the love of God?" he cries with St. Paul ; "for such men," he adds, "being confirmed in the Lord, and possessing an unshaken disposition towards Him, and being one in spirit (for he who is joined to the Spirit is one spirit), are sure as the

\* "The last remark is important ; even those traditional statements of the Catholic doctrine, which were more explicit than Scripture, had not as yet, when the controversy began, taken the shape of formulæ. It was the Arian defined propositions of the 'out of nothing' and the like, which called for the imposition of the 'consubstantia.' (see Newman's *Arians*, pp. 239, 240).

Mount Zion, and although ten thousand trials may rage against them, they are founded upon a Rock, which is Christ."

The love of God in Christ, revealed to us by His Spirit, was it not the same truth which enabled St. Augustine to say, "Nay, but thou dost see the Trinity, if thou seest love"?\* For "if the love by which the Father loves the Son, and the Son loves the Father, ineffably demonstrates the communion of both, what is more suitable than that He should be specially called Love, Who is the Spirit common to both?"

What wonder is it if Augustine, at the close of his great work on the Trinity, should tell us that he felt constrained to conclude, not by an argument, but by a prayer? "O Lord, our God, we believe in Thee, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For the Truth would not say, Go, baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, unless Thou wast a Trinity. . . . My strength and my infirmity are in Thy sight; preserve the one and heal the other. My knowledge and my ignorance are in Thy sight; where Thou hast opened to me, receive me as I

\* Dr. Sanday believes that St. Augustine is the first to connect the doctrine of the Trinity with the great text, "God is Love." "Having the doctrine of the Trinity already given him, St. Augustine applies it under the triple formula *amans, quod amatur, amor*; he uses this as one of the leading analogies by which he illustrates the doctrine, and we are not surprised to find him connecting it with 1 John iv. 8, 16." Dr. Sanday adds, "It was no slight service thus to find a home in the depths of the Divine nature for that which is the crown and perfection of all the endowments of man" (*Christologies Ancient and Modern*, pp. 48, 49 (1910)).



enter; where Thou hast closed, open to me as I knock. May I remember Thee, understand Thee, love Thee."

#### NOTE.

Dr. Harnack has just given us the results of a further inquiry into the origin of the Trinitarian formula.\* Of this inquiry some brief notice is here taken.

Dr. Harnack finds the opening stage of his inquiry in the circle of Jewish Christians, since Matthew, in whom the baptismal formula appears (ch. xxviii. 19), belongs to Palestine.

He also thinks it best, first of all, to seek in ancient Judaism for a formula with two members, not with three. And in such words as John i. 17 (cf. Rom. x. 4), "the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ," he finds a tendency to accentuate an opposition between Moses and Jesus Christ; and thus such a formula as "God and Jesus whom He had sent" (cf. John xvii. 3) would easily find place.

But Harnack proceeds to point out that the fullest Trinitarian formula is in 2 Cor. xiii. 14. This formula begins, not with the mention of God the Father, but of the grace of Jesus Christ. And in this way the oldest Jewish Christians, in opposition to their unbelieving brethren, would express, in agreement with the language of both Paul and John, what they have received in Christ in distinction to Moses, viz. His grace. But if "the grace of Jesus Christ" had thus passed into a formula, the thought of "the

\* *Verfassung und Recht der Alten Kirche* (1910). In this book, pp. 187-198, Dr. Harnack gives *Eine Untersuchung über den Ursprung der Trinitarischen Formel* ("An inquiry as to the Origin of the Trinitarian Formula").

only true God" could not be put on one side; He must also be named, and must receive some predicate even more comprehensive. Paul, in writing to the Corinthians, adds "the love of God," and John shows that this is no chance addition, for elsewhere he writes "God is love" (cf. 1 John iv. 8 and John iii. 16). Dr. Harnack therefore maintains that "God, and Jesus Christ, whom He had sent," and "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" are very old formulæ and arose out of controversy with the Jews.

But, asks Dr. Harnack, how do we arrive at a formula with three members, "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit"? Here again he refers to the same controversy as is mentioned above. That the Spirit in the Messianic age should be poured out upon all believers had been the great promise since Joel. But if the Church of Jesus and every member of it claimed to possess the Spirit, then the presence of that Spirit in the Church was the vital point to be emphasized, and we can understand how the Holy Spirit would be added to "the binity" of God and of Him whom He had sent,\* how the Spirit would be expressly named, and, in contrast to Moses and his law, the Spirit would be the present proof of the "grace of Jesus Christ" and of "the love of God."

This triad, therefore, "God, Jesus the Christ, the Holy Spirit," must have developed out of the opposition in which the Christian Church stood to Judaism, and which compelled it to bring its possession of such a triad to the proof. But if this triad meets us first in a wish for a blessing upon the Church (2 Cor. xiii. 14), this could not possibly have been the oldest placing together of the members of such a triad, although its antiquity is proved by the placing of Christ first, which plainly shows the origin of this triad as arising out of the anti-Judaistic controversy.

But, as Harnack reminds us, we have also the

\* Harnack uses the word "binität."

formula "the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit," or "in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." This formula we are also asked to believe was a Palestinian development, and if it meets us first as a baptismal formula, we must endeavour to understand it as a baptismal formula in Jewish-Christian circles.

But if there can be no doubt, continues Harnack, that baptism was originally administered in the Name of Jesus Christ alone, why did men exchange the formula by means of one already at hand, and give to this latter formula the setting "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," instead of "God, Jesus the Christ, and Holy Spirit"?

His reasons to account for the change Dr. Harnack gives at some length, but what he urges amounts to this. The Jews had accused Jesus of blasphemy for claiming the designation "Son of God," and the believers in Him on their side had earnestly defended their Master's claim. But this controversy was older than the Gospel of St. John. The Christians had to make some declaration, in opposition to the reproach of their Jewish opponents, that Jesus was the true Messiah who would come in the clouds of heaven. But as He had not appeared on earth in might and majesty, they had to affirm something with reference to the historical Jesus which should give assurance that He would be the Messiah of the future. But such a declaration could take no other form than this, "He is the Son of God." This declaration resulted, in Christian belief, from the words and works of Jesus, and it could be proved, so the Christians alleged, from the Scriptures, and such a statement guaranteed that Jesus would come again as the Messiah in glory.

Thus the expression "the Son of God" took by degrees the place of the usual expression "the Messiah," and thus the formula which we first read

in Matthew, "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," took the place of "God, Christ, and Holy Spirit."

This formula in Matthew the Christian believers began to prefer in baptism, and by such an employment of it to refer it to an express command of Christ. The word "Father" in the formula would be substituted for "God" as soon as the title "the Son" took the place of the title "the Messiah."

But although Dr. Harnack defines his view with his usual great ability, it can scarcely be said that his attempt is very satisfactory.

And if it was only through controversy with the Jews that the title "Son" instead of "Christ" or "Messiah" became predominant somewhere between 50-80 A.D. (as Harnack holds), it is evident that as early as 1 Cor. St. Paul employs the terms "the Father," "the Son," absolutely, and as if they were already fully recognized and acknowledged by all parties in the Christian Church. Dr. Harnack modestly admits that he claims no novelty for his argument, and that it is not likely to commend itself to those amongst his contemporaries who look outside the Christian and anti-Jewish ground upon which for his part Dr. Harnack is content to take his stand.

### III

## THE PAULINE THEOLOGY IN RELATION TO THE RECORDS OF OUR LORD'S LIFE AND TEACHING

WHO was the founder of Christianity, Paul or Jesus? Such is the question which is being eagerly asked in Germany and England to-day, a question which implies some contrariety between St. Paul and his Lord.

And yet no question, we may well believe, could have been more abhorrent to the Apostle, who never tires of calling himself the servant, the slave of Christ.

What ground, then, is there for the supposition that this contrariety exists? By St. Paul, we are told, Jesus is regarded as a divine and pre-existent Being, but by the Synoptists He is not introduced as claiming either deity or pre-existence.

But let us look for a moment at the alleged sources of our Evangelists, and let us take for this purpose the document which Dr. Harnack names "Q." This document, which he supposes to have been used by both St. Matthew and St. Luke, dates, so we are told, earlier than St. Mark's Gospel, carrying us



back in fact to the fifties in the first Christian century.

Consider for a moment the personality portrayed in this alleged early document. The Baptist knows that he himself is only a forerunner. One coming after him should baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire; and when He comes Jesus makes a claim upon human souls and lives which is imperative. He is come for division and for decision. He can read the hearts of men, and anticipate the disclosures of the final judgment. His Parousia would be unexpected and like the lightning, comparable only in its swiftness and decisiveness to God's judgments of old time. He knows the yearning heart of Jehovah, the loving care of God for Israel, a care which He claims not only to know, but also to share.

All this and more is found in "Q." Is it surprising that such contents should lead up to other words partly, at all events, assigned to the same document, in which Jesus reveals His own unique consciousness—words which, if we may accept one recent interpretation of them, seem to involve the conception of the pre-existence of the Messiah, words which afford an unbroken link between the Synoptists and St. John?

"All things have been delivered unto Me of my Father, and no one knoweth the Son save the Father, neither doth any know the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him."

Dr. Harnack, indeed, amongst other modifications,

omits the clause, "and who the Son is save the Father," but he does so in defiance of textual authority. At any rate (and this is sufficient for my purpose) he uses the titles, "the Father," "the Son," absolutely ; and not only so, but he admits that St. Mark, in an equally famous passage, does the same, a passage in the wording of which, in agreement with Dr. Schmiedel, Harnack sees a proof of the oldest tradition, "But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father."

Whether St. Paul knew these words of our Lord in "Q" (and Dr. Harnack is inclined to think that he did) we cannot tell, but at any rate some such knowledge accounts for the manner in which the Apostle speaks in his earlier Epistles of "the Father" and "the Son." It explains how not only in 1 Corinthians, but in 1 Thessalonians and in Galatians (which many scholars regard as the earliest of all the Epistles), he speaks of "the Father" and of His Son ; how in 1 Thessalonians he addresses himself in prayer to the Lord Jesus no less than to God the Father.

In this connection it has very recently been observed that the remarkable language of St. Paul in 1 Cor. viii. 6, "To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto Him ; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through Him," reads as if it was stated as an already recognized truth ; the words have all the precision of a Creed.

But if Dr. Wrede was correct, and we are to believe that St. Paul at his conversion transferred at once and

without further ceremony to the Jesus who then appeared to him, all his previous conceptions of the pre-existence of the Messiah before the world was, and of His share in its creation, would such statements have had such a place in St. Paul's teaching, unless he knew that they were not at variance with the belief and the mind of the Church? Would he not have exposed himself to the charge that he had exchanged the historical Jesus for an unhistorical figure clad in Jewish apocalyptic fancies,\* or at the best in Jewish philosophy and wisdom? How could he imply to the Corinthian Church that he knew himself to be at one with the Twelve?

Every Christian, of course, naturally turns to St. John's Gospel for the most explicit statement of our Lord's pre-existence and of His divine nature. But we are warned off this holy ground. A recent writer on the Bible tells us: "I must reiterate that the fourth Gospel does not count, being a very late first century or early second century romance." But it is easy to reiterate a statement on the principle that if you repeat it often enough some one will be foolish enough to think that there may be something in it. But the truth is that the fourth Gospel does count. It counts in the intellectual world. Have we not just seen how a great scholar like Bishop Westcott regarded the fourth Gospel to the last as the work of St. John? Is it not only last year that Dr. Zahn

\* A. Schweitzer reduces to a *minimum* St. Paul's acquaintance with the historical Jesus, *u. s.* pp. 2, 399. But this makes it all the more marvellous that the scanty records (according to Schweitzer) of the Gospels should have produced such a unique impression.

gave us a commentary on the same Gospel, and with the same unswerving conviction? It does count in the religious world. Is it not to those last discourses of our Lord in St. John that the poorest and the simplest folk in your parishes, that the sick and the dying, turn for help and comfort? It does count in the critical world. We may see how, in the current number of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, a thorough critical analysis of Dr. Harnack's "Q" justifies the introduction into it of the fourth Gospel's deepest truths, and how the word "Logos," although he does not actually use it, is implied and anticipated in the practically undoubted language of St. Paul.

I do not forget that another attempt has just been made to minimize St. Paul's share in the authorship of the Epistles attributed to him. With the exception of five, or parts of five Epistles, all the rest are to be assigned to Luke, Silas, and Timothy.

Well, it is something to have got rid of the shadowy redactors of Swiss or Dutch critics, and to be referred to living personalities of flesh and blood. But the writer who can describe the first three chapters of I Thessalonians as colourless must himself be colour-blind; or who at this time of day can declare that the Epistle to Philemon was not written by St. Paul must not expect to be taken very seriously.

But St. Paul, so it is urged, is again at variance with the Gospels in setting up a gospel of his own when he speaks of our Lord's death as a ransom

for sin. How, then, we ask, did St. Paul come to entertain this belief?

Now the Gospels and Epistles are at least one in this, that they regard the death of the cross with horror and amazement. The early Christians may no doubt have meditated upon such a prophecy as Isaiah liii., but in applying such a passage to our Lord we must remember that they did so not only in the teeth of current Jewish interpretation, but within a few weeks of the tragedy of the Crucifixion.

St. Peter's early speeches in the Acts are regarded not only by Dr. Schmiedel as the utterances of that Apostle, but still more recently by Dr. J. Weiss in his little pamphlet on the *Beginnings of Dogma*.

It is indeed sometimes urged that in these speeches also there is no mention of our Lord's death as procuring forgiveness. But twice in these early addresses St. Peter uses the phrase, "forgiveness of sins," and both times in close connection with the Crucifixion; and we can scarcely doubt that he would have ever present to his mind the solemn words of Jesus a few hours before His death, in which practically the same phrase occurs—"the remission of sins."

If we turn to the Epistles, St. Paul, too, has practically the same phrase twice, in both cases connected with the redemption of Christ. And, what is more significant still, he tells the Corinthians that he had received the Gospel according to which Christ died for our sins, and that this Gospel was the common theme of himself and the Twelve. Even if the



phrase, "the remission of sins," is rejected in St. Matthew in connection with our Lord's Blood of the Covenant, yet Dr. Harnack admits that however difficult it may be to explain precisely the words of Jesus to His disciples at the Last Supper, one thing is certain, that He connected the forgiveness of sins with His death. But if our Lord could have said, "This cup is the covenant of My Blood," it seems difficult to understand why He could not have said that He came to give His life a ransom for many.

I do not forget that it has been urged that we owe the institution of the Holy Communion to St. Paul. But although this absurd contention is seldom now maintained, yet we are asked to believe that we owe to St. Paul the mystical teaching of the Holy Communion, and that this teaching connects it with pagan mysteries and ritual.

And thus the weapon of comparative religion, which, if rightly used, is of such growing value to the maintenance of the unique character of the Christian faith, is seized upon, and extravagant stories connected with the sacrifices of Mexicans and Bedouins are dragged in to present a parallel to the narrative of the Gospels. No wonder that one of the most distinguished of Dutch theologians, Dr. Baljon of Utrecht, can write, "Try what I may, I cannot understand how any one can place side by side such customs and the Supper of the Lord."

But the whole conception of a suffering Messiah was quite at variance with Jewish beliefs and conceptions at the time of the Advent. All the four Gospels witness to this, and it may be fairly

argued that it is not until after the fall of Jerusalem that we meet with this conception of a suffering Messiah in Rabbinical literature at all.

And if we look outside the New Testament to the Book of Enoch or to the Psalms of Solomon, we find no mention of the Messiah as a sufferer.

But this conception of a suffering Messiah involved also for St. Paul the conception of a sinless Messiah. No amount of suffering —*qua* suffering—would atone for sin, but only the sufferings of One of whom it could be said that in Him was no sin.

And here St. Paul and the Evangelists are again at one. The Psalms of Solomon had indeed spoken of a sinless Messiah, but that might have involved merely a ceremonial purity. In the New Testament alone had this anticipation been realized before the eyes of men, who, as Jews, were most keenly aware that if they said they had no sin they only deceived themselves.

And this sinless Christ was to judge the world. Dr. Bousset maintains that we can trace in the Gospels the growth of this belief in Jesus as the Judge of mankind. But long before this stage had been reached in the formation of the Gospels which Bousset supposes, St. Paul must have written and expressed in his earliest writings his belief that Christ would come to judgment as the assessor of His Father; and we remember how even in 1 Thessalonians he transfers the Old Testament phrase "the day of the Lord" to the coming, the Parousia of the Lord Jesus.

It is no doubt quite true that in Jewish Apocalyptic,

judgment is more frequently assigned to God, but it is none the less true that it is also assigned to the Messiah. And it is significant that, according to the best textual authorities, St. Paul can speak in one place of the judgment seat of God, and in another place of the judgment seat of the Messiah.

And when he speaks of the latter we remember that in the previous context he had already spoken of Christ as the Lord of both dead and living.

And here we may note that no word perhaps is more intimately connected with St. Paul's theology than this word "Lord." The part which it plays in the papyri and in the worship of the emperors is full of intense and growing interest. When, *e.g.*, St. Paul tells the Corinthians of one Lord Jesus Christ, "through whom are all things, and we through Him," Dr. Deissmann would have us see in such language a silent protest against other lords, possibly against the title "the Lord," as men had begun to call the Roman emperors.

But this devotion of the Christians to their Risen Lord does not lose sight of the historical Jesus ; nay, St. Paul loves to unite the human name Jesus with the title Lord, and he does not hesitate to employ them together in his reference to the hour of darkness : he speaks of the night in which "the Lord Jesus" was betrayed.

And so we may pass to the expressions so characteristic of St. Paul's theology—"in the Lord," "in Christ," "in the Lord Jesus." Whence did the Apostle derive this language, so expressive of the closest mystical union between the Christian and his

Lord? We may, of course, trace it through the whole of the Johannine writings; but does not St. Paul presuppose the currency of such teaching when he speaks of the new marriage of the Christian with the Risen Christ, and of its fruit in the new life quickened by the Spirit? Do we not find the germs of this teaching of a mystical union in the Synoptists: "He that receiveth you receiveth Me"?

No one has emphasized this truth more emphatically than the German professor, Dr. Deissmann, to whom we owe so much. He bids us remember that Christianity gained its sway over human hearts, not as a religion of redemption, thus making the personal impersonal, but as the religion of a *Redeemer*.

And in the strength and light of that union with the Ascended Christ all things for St. Paul had become new. The kingdom of God is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. We seem to hear in such words the echoes of the Sermon on the Mount. The kingdom of God for St. Paul is henceforth synonymous with the service of Christ, for he adds: "For he that herein serveth Christ is well-pleasing to God and approved of men."

We turn to two Jewish Apocalyptic books of the first Christian century, *The Assumption of Moses* and *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, and we find in both the prevalence of a carnal and sensuous view of the Messiah's kingdom, and we see how St. Paul in contradistinction had caught the spirit of the Gospels, and how that spirit was needed.

Or again, St. Paul is writing to the Colossians, and he warns them against the observance of new moons

and sabbaths, in that they were thus regarding the shadow as if it was the substance, the substance which they enjoyed in the possession of Christ ; and we see how the Apostle is again catching the spirit of the Gospels ; and we turn to the Book of Jubilees, and we note again the excessive burden of the sabbath. And we cease to wonder that men turned from a religion which had become so mechanical and so devoid of spirituality to the teaching of Jesus, or that St. Paul saw in it a burden too grievous to be borne, and in the law and liberty of Jesus a more excellent way.

Or we note once more that the universalism, of which our Lord struck the keynote when He foretold that many should come from the east and the west and sit down in the kingdom of God—a conception which finds little mention in Jewish Apocalyptic—is taken up by St. Paul when he tells the Galatians that Jew and Greek, and bond and free, were all one in Christ Jesus, and that being one in Christ they were Abraham's seed, for Christ was the true seed of Abraham.\*

Time fails me to do more than to refer to a most suggestive passage in this connection in Sir W. Ramsay's *Cities of Paul* (p. 38). No saying of our Lord, he reminds us, has been more frequently quoted than part of that saying to which I referred in the earlier passage (St. Matt. xi. 28-30), where the easy

\* Dr. Schweitzer, who sees only the apocalyptic side of our Lord's teaching, is well rebuked by Dr. Percy Gardner, who points out that such a theory is quite unmaintainable in the face of St. Paul's Epistles. —*Expository Times*, Sept. 1910.



yoke and light burden which Christ imposes upon men are contrasted with the heavy burdens which other teachers laid upon them. Sir W. Ramsay gives good reasons for believing that this saying was known to St. Paul, that it was present to his mind when he urged the Galatians on to freedom, not only from the burden and yoke of the law, but to the perfect and all-embracing freedom of the adoption of sons.

A few words in conclusion. From the days of the emperor-philosopher Julian to the days of the German philosopher F. Nietzsche, men have criticized and condemned in no measured terms the teaching and the theology of St. Paul.

But wisdom is justified of her children, and the chosen vessel, the *vas electionis*, becomes the interpreter to the world of his Master's words and will. Who could have combined so fully the training in the Scriptures, the possession of a popular classical culture, the philosophical reasoning, the logical acumen, the sense of the high privilege of Roman citizenship, and the recognition of a higher citizenship still, which became the Gospel of Christ? who in the light of the sinless Jesus could have depicted sin as more exceeding sinful? who could have cherished with a more durable enthusiasm the prophetic vision of a Church in which wise and simple, Greeks and barbarians, bond and free, should find at once a welcome and a home?

Our little systems have their day, and they cease to be, but the words of St. Paul, based upon the words of his Master, are still going out into the ends of the

world, and their sound into all lands. Those unsearchable riches, which the Apostle of the Gentiles proclaimed, still endow the Church with manifold gifts of wisdom and grace : "Christum scire est omnia scire" : "To know Christ is to know all things."

#### IV

### THE ESCHATOLOGY OF ST. PAUL

IT may be well, in this short time, to confine myself as much as possible to the eschatology of St. Paul. In doing so, we are at once faced by questions as to the influences at work in the expression of St. Paul's thoughts, and in the growth and development of his views.

With regard to the latter point, two of our great English Bible Dictionaries seem to be directly at issue.

On the one hand, in Dr. Hastings' Dictionary, it is maintained that there is no essential difference between the statements of the earlier and later groups of St. Paul's letters, and that the essential points in his eschatology would remain the same, even if we had only the four great Epistles, the *Hauptbriefe* as the Germans call them, which Ferdinand Baur accepted more than sixty years ago.

On the other hand, we have not only many distinguished Germans, as in a recent number of Harnack's *Encyclopædia*, but notably the *Encyclopædia Biblica* in England, maintaining a change of view between the two Thessalonian Epistles and 2 Corinthians, to say nothing for the moment of other alleged changes.

Writers who adopt the former position are obliged to some extent to take their stand upon the Pastoral Epistles, and it will of course be said that these are the Epistles which are most seriously disputed, although, I venture to think, on most arbitrary and subjective grounds. But quite apart from the Pastoral Epistles, much at all events of the same phraseology is found in St. Paul's later no less than in his earlier letters, if we accepted only the Epistles of the first captivity, and especially Philippians, an Epistle which few critics would dare to refuse to St. Paul.

But it may perhaps be helpful to glance at each group of the letters.

It is, however, well to presuppose: (1) That we ought not to expect a systematic and elaborate scheme of eschatology in these writings. They are for the most part letters which evidently take for granted (as in probably the earliest of all, the Thessalonian Epistles) that a considerable amount of teaching had been already given. They are letters concerned with, or evoked by, many and varying circumstances; they are often written to answer current questions and pressing problems. Thus in Galatians, written it may be within a few months of the Thessalonian Epistles, and when the Apostle was busied with another topic, we find, it may be said, no eschatology, only a single reference to the conditions of inheritance in the kingdom of God. (2) That St. Paul was influenced, not merely by his early training, by Jewish Apocalyptic, and by the Old Testament, but chiefly by a conscious union with the mind which

was in Christ Jesus, and by our Lord's own utterances. It is needful to insist upon this, because we have been told in the great Jewish Encyclopædia that St. Paul's conceptions were derived above all from Hellenism. There are, no doubt, many thoughtful people who are inclined to think that the language of St. Paul or of our Lord is depreciated if it is shown to be connected with the language of Jewish Apocalyptic. But two things should be considered. First, how would any great teacher, if he wanted to gain a hearing, be likely to express himself but in the language of the day? Our Lord and His Apostles undoubtedly so expressed themselves in other matters. Why not in the hopes and fears which touched the nation so deeply?

But, in the same place, we must be very careful not to exaggerate this dependence.

Dr. Swete has recently uttered a timely warning as to this in his edition of the Apocalypse of St. John. And whilst we may readily admit many points of contact between the Epistles of St. Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic, we must remember that we have to take into account not merely quantity but quality, and the admission of these frequent points of contact only brings out into bolder relief the Apostle's spiritual power and keenness of apprehension.

If we turn to the Thessalonian Epistles, we notice in both of them the first occurrence in St. Paul of the memorable word *Parousia*, literally "the presence" (although it is rendered in the New Testament "the coming") of the Lord. Sometimes St. Paul uses



another term, "epiphany," which, from its use in inscriptions and elsewhere, may possibly have been congenial to the Greek mind; and sometimes he uses another term, "apocalypse," literally an "unveiling." And so in those two words "unveiling" and "presence" we may trace the thought of One who was never really absent from His followers; the thought of "God unseen, yet ever near."

It is of interest to recall that the word "Parousia" is found only in one of our four Gospels, St. Matthew's, in which it occurs three times in the last great discourse upon the Mount of Olives.

When we remember that 1 Thess. contains verses which read like so many reminiscences of that discourse, a word used so solemnly and repeated by our Lord might pass quite naturally into the current language of the Church. But we shall probably agree with Dr. Milligan in his recent examination of this word that there is scarcely enough evidence in Jewish writings of an established use of the term with reference to the Messiah, although the papyri use the word of the advent of a king.

It is worthy of note, however, that in St. Matthew the word first occurs on the lips of the disciples, "What shall be the sign of Thy coming?" But if the word is to be considered as growing out of Jewish Messianic doctrinal language, as apparently Dr. Harnack holds, it would seem to be no unfair inference from it that the disciples regarded our Lord as the Messiah, and that He Himself acknowledged that claim. In face of some recent utterances the matter becomes of no little importance.

If we turn to the synonymous term "the day" or "the day of the Lord," which occurs in the earliest no less than in the latest of St. Paul's Epistles, the significance of such language is unmistakable.

It is no doubt true that in Jewish Apocalyptic God Himself is generally represented as the Judge, and that sometimes the Messiah is so represented.

But in any case we cannot get rid of the significance of the fact that in what may well have been his earliest Epistle, admitted to be the Apostle's by nearly every accredited writer, 1 Thessalonians, he speaks of "the day" of Christ as any Jew would speak of "the day" of Jehovah.

*Lives* of Jesus still pour from the press in Germany, and one characteristic of many of them is a denial of our Lord's claim to judge the world. But even if we expunge, as we are seriously asked to do, our Lord's description of the great judgment scene of the nations, we must go further and expunge passage after passage of the Gospels if that claim is denied. That claim is made in the Sermon on the Mount, "Many shall say to Me in that day," no less than when Jesus stood, in the supreme crisis of His life, before the high priest of His nation; it would at least seem to be implied in His claim to the divine prerogative, the forgiveness of sins, and in His claim to mete out the measure of condemnation to be assigned to a Chorazin or a Bethsaida.

And if St. Paul was the first to attribute this tremendous prerogative to our Lord, it is remarkable that the one passage of the Book of Enoch which describes the Messiah as Judge, speaks of Him by

the title which St. Paul never once introduces, the title of the Son of man.

But if we had only the Thessalonian Epistles before us, we could illustrate the two influences to which I referred—the teaching of our Lord and the current literature of the Jews. If, indeed, any one wishes to mark the frequency of the points of contact between our Lord's teaching and the language of St. Paul, three amongst many books may be mentioned, Dr. A. Kennedy's *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*, Dr. Milligan's recent Commentary on 1 and 2 Thess., and Prof. Bornemann's Commentary on the latest edition of Meyer, a book which Dr. Milligan regards as perhaps the greatest modern Commentary on these two Epistles.

But whilst many features in these Epistles find close parallels not only, as is so often forgotten, in the Old Testament as well as in current Jewish literature, there is one striking description in 1 Thess. to which it is urged that no parallel can be found, viz. the rapture of the saints to meet the Lord in the air, although it would be better to say that there are partial parallels in the New Testament, and, for the language, in the Secrets of Enoch iii. 1. But even here writers of different schools have laid stress upon the fact of St. Paul's reserve in contrast to the fantastic descriptions so characteristic of Jewish Apocalyptic. And if we maintain a special revelation, that reserve becomes no less remarkable.

Moreover, we may see even in this passage the practical bent of St. Paul's mind. He refers, it will be noted, only to "the dead in Christ"; he says

nothing of a general resurrection, and hence it has been urged that he did not believe in a resurrection of the wicked. But all that the Apostle is here concerned to do is to allay the fears of his converts as to the fate of friends and relatives who had fallen asleep before the Lord should come. He meets those fears—and that is sufficient.

But the language which we are considering is of importance from another point of view. We find here in this 1 Thess. Epistle the mention of the dead "in Christ," and in 2 Thess. we have the prayer "that the Name of our Lord Jesus may be glorified in you and ye in Him." Here, then—and thus early—we have a conception as mystical as anything in St. John. Men constantly speak as if eschatological expectations formed the kernel of St. Paul's religious belief, and as if his outlook, like that of any pious Jew, was limited by such expectations. But the simple phrase "in Christ" gives us the essence of St. Paul's teaching, the belief in a union which neither life nor death, nor things present, nor things to come, could sever: "if any man be in Christ, there is a new creation."

While many critics have dwelt upon the coincidences between St. Paul's address at Athens and 1 Thess., Dr. Harnack has lately pointed to coincidences between what he calls "the most wonderful passage in the Book of Acts" and two Epistles of the second group, 1 Cor. and Romans. "Jesus and the Resurrection," both in the Acts and in 1 Cor., is the chief proclamation, and as in Romans ii. so in the Acts the Judgeship of Jesus is closely associated with

the "ignorance" which has taken the place of man's primitive knowledge of God. Such a harmony between the Acts and the Epistles is very suggestive, but we can only note it in passing.

In the Epistles of this second group many features resemble the Apostle's earlier teaching (except the teaching as to the Antichrist, which stands alone in 2 Thess., a proof in its uniqueness that no falsarius would have dared to ascribe it to St. Paul).

Thus we have the judgment-seat, the trumpet, the angels as assessors in the judgment, the prospect of the Parousia taking place shortly. It is perhaps in the various utterances of St. Paul as to the nearness of the Parousia that we recognize the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of attaching any elaborate scheme to the Apostle's eschatology.

Thus it may be fairly said that in 2 Cor. his expectancy recedes, whilst it revives again in Rom. vii. 23, which gives us his eager expectation for the redemption of the body, which, as we learn elsewhere, was to receive its accomplishment at the Parousia.

If we turn to Philippians the Apostle evidently contemplates the possibility of his own death before the Parousia; and yet in the same Epistle he speaks of waiting for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, and he makes the still more notable declaration, "the Lord is at hand." No doubt we are brought face to face in the Corinthian Epistles with more than one great difficulty. It is urged, *e.g.*, that whilst in the Thessalonian Epistles St. Paul's view is purely Judaic, he passes now to a more spiritual view. In 1 Cor. xv.



30-49, the view that the resurrection follows immediately upon the death of the faithful is implied, whilst in 2 Cor. v. 1-8 it is categorically stated.

But if in 2 Cor. the faithful attain to a resurrection or to an immortal body immediately upon their death, such a view is directly at variance with the Apostle's own statement in Phil. iii. 20, where the fashioning anew of the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the Body of our Lord's glory takes place at the Parousia, and not at death.

All this should make us careful not to attribute to St. Paul some great change of view within some very short space of time.

But, further, this First Epistle to the Corinthians enables us to examine some of St. Paul's phraseology with reference to the kingdom of God. We may see, *e.g.*, how the language and the conceptions of Jewish eschatology have been deepened and spiritualized,\* and how the political aspect of the kingdom and of the Messiah gives place to a purely religious conception, a revolution of thought which may well be explained by the Apostle's dependence upon the teaching of Jesus.† Thus, too, the universalism which meets us in what may have been the earliest Epistle, Galatians, stands out in marked

\* Cf. von Dobschütz, *Expositor*, p. 209, March, 1910.

† A. Schweitzer praises Reimarus in quite an exaggerated manner, and regards him as the first and indeed the only writer before J. Weiss, who recognized that the teaching of Jesus was purely eschatological. But not only has J. Weiss modified his position, but Schweitzer himself confesses that Reimarus made a fundamental mistake in holding that the idea which dominated the teaching of Jesus was that of the political ruler.—*The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, pp. 23, 239.

contrast to the direful judgments meted out to the Gentiles, except in such books as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (which has so enhanced our debt to Dr. Charles) and the Psalms of Solomon.

Let us note one or two illustrations of this deeper and more spiritual aspect. Take, *e.g.*, the Lord's Supper, which finds such a prominent place in 1 Cor. Men nowadays constantly dwell upon what they term the eschatological element in the words of our Lord no less than in those of St. Paul, in connection with the institution of the Eucharist. But whatever eschatological language may be traced in this connection, the fact remains that for nearly two thousand years the Church, at least week after week, has celebrated that Holy Feast, and enjoyed communion with a living Lord in the new kingdom which He founded ; still the Church hails His Presence, whether He comes in mercy or in might, and awaits in sure and certain hope the fulfilment of the promise of His return to do judgment and justice.

But in this First Epistle to the Corinthians, not only the kingdom but also the actual reign of the Messiah is represented in a very different manner from that which sometimes meets us in contemporary Judaism. Thus in 4 Esdras vii. 28, 29, a book which we may fairly place within the time of the first century, we read, "And it shall come to pass that after these years (*i.e.* four hundred years of His reign) my Son Christ shall die," the four hundred years being fantastically regarded as a sort of set-off against the period of suffering in Egypt.

The Messiah is thus presented to us as a weak

and mortal Man, subject to the laws upon which His kingdom is built, like any other ruler, and passing away in death by the common lot of all men. No wonder that in such a description we may be said to have the exact opposite of St. Paul's view of the Messiah. The Messiah dies in the Christian records, and that, too, upon a Cross of shame, but through the grave and gate of death He passes to His throne of glory, Himself the future Judge.

Professor Volz, to whom we owe perhaps the fullest account of Jewish eschatology in Germany, pertinently asks this question, What is the essential difference between the representation of the Jewish and Christian Messiah? and he answers: The Jewish Messiah is a mere eschatological figure; if at the end of the present time He will redeem creation from wickedness and evil, if in His new kingdom He takes care that no enemies shall again lift up their head, yet in the present He affords no help whatever to the seeking, sighing, struggling soul, and gives no answer whatever to the deep problems which every good man finds in his inmost being.

Between the Epistles to the Thessalonians and the Epistle to the Romans it is often urged that we have a great crisis of thought. In the earlier Epistles St. Paul anticipated a great apostasy, as the immediate precursor of the Parousia; but in Romans we have a philosophy of history. But still we do well to remember that in Romans, as in 1 Thessalonians, we have not only the fact that the wrath of God is being revealed against all unrighteousness, but that the Apostle in Romans, as *e.g.*

in xiii. 11, no less than in 1 Thessalonians, seems to regard the Parousia as approaching; "the night is far spent, the day is at hand."

But it is quite possible that the rapid spread of the gospel may have quickened and intensified the belief that the return of the Lord was to be speedily expected. And there are passages both in Romans and in Colossians which speak of the gospel having been already preached in the whole world.\* On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that in 2 Thessalonians the Apostle allows room for a considerable space of time before the end. "Only there is one that restraineth now, until he be taken out of the way" (ii. 7), but we may fairly ask what expectation was there when St. Paul wrote that the Roman empire would speedily be removed from its place.

It is sometimes contended that in the First Captivity group of St. Paul's letters we have the final stage in the development of his eschatology, that which treats of the cosmic significance of Christ. But we ought not to forget that we have the conception of a cosmic redemption through Christ in Romans before we reach any of the Captivity Epistles. Men misread St. Paul when they regard him as having no sympathy with nature and its sufferings, as the recent Jewish Encyclopædia certainly seems to do.

But it is when we pass to the Epistles of the First Captivity that we meet in this relation with

\* This view of St. Paul's language has been recently endorsed by one of the most learned of German theologians, Dr. P. Feine, *Die Theologie des N. T.*, pp. 495, 496 (1910).

many passages, upon which the greatest stress is laid in the two representative books, of which I spoke at the outset.

Thus, the Son is the end to which all creation moves, the Head in which it is to be summed up; all things in heaven and on earth are embraced in His redemptive activity; in Him we see the centre of unity and the bond of reconciliation. And such language need only surprise those who refuse to admit our Lord's claims after His Resurrection.

It is possible, no doubt, to read in 1 Cor. xv. 28, "when all things have been subordinated to Him," *i.e.* to Christ, a virtual equivalent of Ephes. i. 10, where the Apostle declares the divine purpose to sum up all things in Christ. But still we must remember—as the history of nations no less than of individuals teaches us—that subordination is not necessarily reconciliation, and whatever difficulties may surround the interpretation of 1 Cor. xv. 28, "that God may be all in all," we have no right to interpret such words in a sense at variance with the Apostle's later statements in Colossians and Ephesians, the former of which is now very generally ascribed to St. Paul, an admission which deprives a great part of the attacks upon Ephesians of all their weight. If indeed we had only to deal with statements expressive of subordination, it might be said that the powers mentioned in 1 Cor. xv. have been reduced to an unwilling obedience. But this reduction to impotent and unwilling submission does not satisfy, in the judgment of many thoughtful minds, such a passage as Phil. ii. 10, "that in the



name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." To bow the knee may be a phrase expressive of worship and homage, as the word rendered "to confess" in the context may contain the idea of offering praise or thanksgiving, a meaning which it certainly has in the LXX.

If it be said that St. Paul fully realizes that there are proud, perverse, and sinful wills which may steadfastly refuse to bow to the divine purpose of bringing in everlasting righteousness, we cannot set limits to the perversity of the human will or its opposition to the Will of God. Yet we can still fall back upon great truths and great principles, as St. Paul himself does as he rises to the height of his great argument, "For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that He might have mercy upon all;" . . . "for of Him and through Him and unto Him are all things:" . . . "our wills are ours, we know not how; our wills are ours, to make them Thine."

As we look back upon the various groups of St. Paul's letters we are conscious of another momentous truth, common to the earliest as to the latest Epistle, that the Saviour is also the Judge.

This is the truth of which Dr. Harnack has recently written that one of the distinctive ideas in Christianity is the paradox that the Saviour is also the Judge,\* an idea by which Christianity rises

\* Schmiedel denies this, but see the criticism of von Dobschütz, *Die Thessalonicher Briefe*, p. 129 (1909).

specially superior to other religions. It is a little difficult, perhaps, to know exactly what Dr. Harnack means, for in other religions we do find a combination of some sort in the offices of Saviour and Judge; the predestined Saviour of the world in the great religion of Zoroaster is also to distribute to every man a reward according to his works.

But no religion has combined these two conceptions as Christianity has done in the facts and teaching of a human and divine Life; no religion has embodied these two conceptions so fully and richly as St. Paul in his teaching.

In his earliest as in his latest Epistle, he speaks of a judgment according to works, but he also speaks of a Saviour who is delivering men even now from the wrath to come; of the Lord who will deliver him from every evil work, and save him unto His heavenly kingdom.

And so St. Paul expresses the belief which the great Hymn of faith and praise of all branches of the Catholic Church proclaims to-day: "We believe that Thou shalt come to be our Judge; we therefore pray Thee help Thy servants, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious Blood."

# V

## THE MEDICAL LANGUAGE OF ST. LUKE AND RECENT CRITICISM

THE question of the medical language of St. Luke has increased rather than diminished in interest during the last few years.\*

In 1906 Dr. Harnack published his *Lukas der Arzt*, and not the least surprise in that remarkable book was its endorsement of Dr. Hobart's well-known *Medical Language of St. Luke* (1882).

Dr. Harnack's positive assertion is worth quoting because in making it he endorses the verdict of one who represents, in many respects, a very different standpoint from his own, the verdict of his famous fellow-countryman, Dr. Zahn. "I subscribe," he says, "to the words of Zahn (*Einleitung*, vol. ii. p. 427). 'Hobart has proved for every one, for whom anything can be proved, that the author of the Lucan work was a man acquainted with the technical language of Greek medicine—in fact, a Greek physician'" (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 10).

It is noticeable that on the same page Dr.

\* The present writer may refer to what he has written on this same subject in the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, vol. ii. ; the *Biblical World*, Oct. and Nov., 1902 ; *Literary Criticism and the New Testament*, pp. 8 ff. (1907) : S.P.C.K.

Harnack shows that he has not reached this conclusion hastily, and he frankly admits in a note that if Dr. Hobart had not carried his argument too far, and had not mingled with it much that was unessential, his book would have carried far greater weight.

The *Einleitung* of Dr. Zahn, and the *Lukas der Arzt* of Harnack are now fortunately in the hands of English readers, so that they can easily study the *data* which have united the two famous German critics in one and the same conclusion.

Dr. Harnack claims that this medical language may be found both in the "We" sections and in the rest of the Acts, and he starts with the remarkable passage, Acts xxviii. 8-10, "And it was so that the father of Publius lay sick of fever and dysentery: unto whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laying his hands on him healed him (ἰάσατο). And when this was done, the rest also which had diseases in the island came and were cured (more correctly 'received medical treatment,' ἐθεραπεύοντο): who also honoured us with many honours."

In vs. 9, 10, Dr. Harnack believes, in company with Dr. Zahn, that St. Luke is referring to himself in the words "who honoured us." He also points out that the precise definition of the illness of the father of Publius with its technical terms is against the supposition that St. Luke, like St. Paul, may have employed only prayer, and not medical treatment as a means of healing.\*

\* Sir W. Ramsay in his valuable review of Dr. Harnack's book (*Expositor*, December, 1906), maintains that the rendering "received medical treatment" is demanded for ἐθεραπεύοντο, by the contrast to

With this episode Dr. Harnack commences his inquiry, and there can be little doubt that his reference of the language "lay sick of fever (*πυρετοῖς*) and dysentery" to medical phraseology is amply borne out.\* Even Clemen, who attacks Dr. Harnack's position so persistently, is obliged to admit that both in the verses Acts xxviii. 8-10, and also in v. 3 ff. of the same chapter, medical language may be used, although the proof of its use is not absolute, and it must, at all events, be confined to this one paragraph.†

But as the writer at the end of his great historical work thus shows himself to be a medical man, so it is noticeable, argues Dr. Harnack, that at the beginning of his Gospel he alone of all the Evangelists employs a medical proverb, "Physician, heal thyself" (St. Luke iv. 23). And so, too, Dr. Zahn maintains that the introduction of this proverb by St. Luke alone cannot be attributed to chance (*Einleitung*, vol. ii. p. 427). If Dr. Hobart is right, similar sayings were not unknown amongst medical men themselves, whilst Dr. Edersheim maintains that it is in reality a

*ἰδιότρο* and the careful use of medical terms in the passage, and above all by the implied contrast of Paul's healing power and Luke's modest description of his own medical attention to his numerous patients from all parts of the island.

The present writer may refer with Sir W. Ramsay to the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, vol. ii. p. 541.

\* See below, p. 122, and Zahn, *Einleitung*, vol. ii. p. 436; also Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, vol. ii. p. 279.

† Clemen, in review of Harnack, *Theologische Rundschau*, April 1907; and also his *Paulus, sein Leben und Wirken*, vol. i. p. 164 (1904).



Jewish proverb.\* It has, indeed, been argued that a member of the medical profession would not be likely to lay stress upon a proverb which might be interpreted as holding up his profession to ridicule, or that such a saying was so widely known that any one might introduce it.† But still the fact remains that St. Luke alone of the Evangelists does introduce it, whatever may be its precise meaning.

But whilst the eminence of Dr. Harnack as a critic and an historian has naturally drawn attention in this country to his endorsement of Dr. Hobart's arguments, is there not a danger of forgetting that Dr. Harnack is not the only German scholar who has taken up this position? It must in all fairness be admitted that many of Dr. Harnack's most famous countrymen refuse to follow him, as the present writer has pointed out in some detail elsewhere.‡ But it seems a little unfortunate that Dr. Stanton, to whom we owe so great a debt for his most valuable books on the Gospels, should not mention Dr. Zahn in his recent examination of the medical language of St. Luke.§

But behind Dr. Zahn and Dr. Harnack, there is a

\* *Sketches of Social Jewish Life*, p. 162. See also Dr. Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 65, and article, "Medicine," Dr. Hastings' *B.D.*, vol. iii. p. 322, by Prof. Macalister.

† Cf. the remarks of Dr. Clemen, *Theologische Rundschau*, p. 100 (1907).

‡ *Literary Criticism and the New Testament*, p. 9 (S.P.C.K.). Amongst those adverse to Dr. Harnack's conclusions may be mentioned Schürer, Jülicher, Clemen, Hilgenfeld.

§ *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, vol. ii. pp. 261-263.

large number of German critics of high and scholarly reputation, who are fully alive in a greater or less degree to the value of Dr. Hobart's researches.\*

Thus it is surely most significant that Dr. Bernard Weiss (whose loss we have such cause to deplore) in the earlier editions of his *Einleitung* should have spoken of the attempts to trace medical language in St. Luke as mere trifling (*Spielerei*), whilst in the third edition this remark no longer finds a place, but a reference is made to Dr. Hobart's book. If we turn to the edition of St. Luke's Gospel in *Meyer's Commentary* by Dr. J. Weiss, we find a stronger and detailed recognition of Dr. Hobart's studies. Dr. P. Ewald, another bearer of a distinguished name, writes the article on Luke in the recent edition of Hanck's *Encyclopædia*, and adopts Dr. Hobart's general conclusion without hesitation.

A writer, approaching the matter from a different standpoint, Dr. J. Belser, a Romanist Professor at Tübingen, so well known in England (chiefly for his close examination of the supposed dependence of St. Luke upon Josephus), speaks in high praise of Dr. Hobart's book, and cites illustrations of medical language from the third Gospel and the Acts.†

No one stands higher amongst German textual critics that Dr. E. Nestle, and it is therefore important to note his frank admission that in Luke xviii. 25, the choice of the terms (τρῆμα, a medical word denoting a perforation or puncture, and βελόνη, the word invariably used for surgical needle) "betrays

\* Cf. B. Weiss, *Einleitung in das N. Test.*, p. 531, 3rd Aufl.

† *Einleitung in das N. Test.*, pp. 108, 117.

the language of the physician"\* (see further below, p. 135).

If we turn to one of the well-known series of popular cheap pamphlets in vogue in Germany, we find the writer laying stress upon St. Luke's introduction of the proverb mentioned above, and upon the fact that the Evangelist so often mentions in the Acts the time of the endurance of various diseases, and shows himself acquainted with technical medical terms, more especially in the third Gospel.†

In France we have similar testimony from two distinguished Romanists, M. Lepin, Professor of Theology in Lyons, and the Abbé Jacquier;‡ whilst M. Loisy, although he rejects St. Luke as the author of the third Gospel for various reasons, acknowledges that the book contains medical terms, and he instances the way in which the writer employs medical language in Luke iv. 38, in contrast to the simpler language in the parallel passage in St. Mark (see further below, p. 121). *Les Evangiles Synoptiques*, vol. i. pp. 179, 454 (1909).

In England it is not too much to say that nearly every writer on the third Gospel or on the Acts has acknowledged the general value of Dr. Hobart's book, while at the same time the view has been freely expressed that many of the instances which he adduces must be discounted; they seem, as Jacquier

\* *Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament*, p. 275, E.T. See also Belser, *u.s.*, p. 109, and Plummer, *St. Luke*, *in loco*.

† W. Hadorn in the series entitled *Biblische Zeit und Streit Fragen*, p. 10, and in the pamphlet *Die Apostelgeschichte*, p. 10.

‡ Lepin, *Les Théories de M. Loisy*, p. 263 (1908); and Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N. Test.*, p. 445 (1905).

says, to prove too much. The writer of the article "Disease" in the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* also maintains that the argument of Dr. Hobart may be easily pressed beyond the truth, that St. Luke's style and vocabulary have many affinities with classical Greek, and that many of the expressions he uses occur in the LXX., and may have come to the Evangelist from that source. But the best answer to all this is to be found in the list so carefully compiled by Dr. Plummer,\* and it is not too much to say that when every reasonable deduction has been made there still remains in the books attributed to St. Luke a large number of distinctly medical terms.

It is still more remarkable that a conservative critic like the late Professor F. Godet should express his inability to follow Dr. Hobart and Dr. Zahn, although even he is struck by the remarkable points of contact between the language of St. Luke and that of the contemporary physician Dioscorides.†

But it scarcely seems correct to say that the medical traits in the Lucan writings do not seem to have been even noticed before the nineteenth century.‡ The names of at least two great commentators, J. J. Wetstein and J. A. Bengel, of the eighteenth century, seem to contradict, as we shall see, such a statement.

\* *St. Luke*, pp. liii., lxiv.

† *Introduction to N.T.*, vol. ii. p. 605.

‡ Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, vol. ii. p. 263 (1909).

The most recent examination of the question in England has been made by Dr. Stanton, and if Dr. Harnack overrates the medical language in St. Luke's writings, Dr. Stanton does not appear to attach any great weight to such language in itself, unless we can consider it in combination with other things, as, *e.g.*, the reference to St. Luke as the beloved physician in Col. iv. 14, and the general tradition of the Church.

Dr. Stanton, indeed, thinks that a physician might have expressed himself even more professionally, but that it is quite likely that a man writing in later life, with no scientific or professional purpose in view, and still retaining some early medical knowledge, might show signs of this early training.

But if we turn to another part of Dr. Stanton's second volume, we shall see that he himself comments on words and phrases in a way which connects them closely with medical usage and technicalities.

It may be readily admitted, before we proceed any further, that in future it will be necessary to test alleged medical words and phrases even more strictly than has hitherto been the case.

Dr. Plummer, in his most valuable contribution to the subject, has asked, with regard to each alleged medical word, whether it is found in the LXX., or in some classical writer. But it will be necessary in future to deal with the language of the papyri and their description of home and social life.

Thus the verb (*ἀνακαθίζω*), which is used in an intransitive sense of a patient sitting up in bed, and used only by St. Luke in the New Testament, is

no doubt a word frequently employed by medical writers (see further below). But in that delightful little book on the Greek papyri, which Dr. Milligan has recently given us, there is a letter written by a Christian slave (4th cent. A.D.) to his master, describing the illness of his mistress: "But now I am at a loss how to write more regarding her, for she seems, as I said before, to be in a more tolerable state, in that she has sat up (*ἀνακαθέσθαι*), but nevertheless, she is still in a somewhat sickly state of body.\* But we are comforting her by hourly expecting your arrival. That you may be in continued health, my lord, is my prayer to the Master of all."

Such an extract, we may readily admit, is a proof that every alleged instance of medical terms should be carefully sifted.

But if we turn to the instances in which Dr. Stanton himself sees the hand of a medical writer, we shall find that their cumulative force, at any rate, is very considerable. In a lengthy section of his book (vol. ii. pp. 278-279), Dr. Stanton gives us "Luke's revision of his Marcan document." In Luke iv. 38 ff., the Evangelist has the phrase, "holden with a great fever" (*συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγάλῳ*). "Compare," says Dr. Stanton, "the closely similar phrase in Acts xxviii. 8, "lay sick of fever

\* The verb is evidently used here in a popular and colloquial sense. And the same may be said of another verb, *ὀχλέω* (see p. 138 below), which is used medically, and also colloquially, in the papyri, in the sense of "to worry," as *e.g.* of worrying carpenters and not allowing them to be idle. See "Lexical Notes from the Papyri" (Moulton and Milligan), *Expositor*, July, 1910.



and dysentery," of the father of Publius, and he adds, "see on the two expressions *Lukas der Arzt*, E.T. pp. 176, 182." And he proceeds, "There is reason, also, to think that the use of 'great' (μεγάλῳ) in connection with fever has even a technical force (see Hobart, p. 4)."

But can we not go further than this? Not only Dr. Harnack, but Dr. Zahn also, endorses the distinct medical use of the phraseology in the passages under consideration. Although the verb ἔχεσθαι is found in classical Greek and in Josephus, both it and its compound (συνέχεσθαι) are frequently used in medical language. We have, *e.g.*, the remarkable phrase in Hippocrates, where ἔχεσθαι and δυσεντερία are used in combination, ὑπὸ δυσεντερίης ἐχομένῳ, and the same medical writer frequently joins together fever (πυρετός) and dysentery (δυσεντερία, peculiar to Luke in the New Testament).

Dr. Stanton, moreover, may well say that there is reason for regarding the word "great" (μεγάλῳ) as a technical term, as it was undoubtedly customary with medical men to distinguish between great and small fevers.

Before we pass on, it may be well to remember that in Acts xxviii. 8 the word for fevers is in the plural (πυρετοῖς). But this use of the word "fevers" would be quite natural in medical writing. It is quite true that the word is used in the plural by Demosthenes and Lucian, but still the fact remains that Luke is the only one of the four Evangelists who employs the plural, although all four make mention of fever.

But it must not be forgotten that at this point Dr. Stanton himself introduces a medical trait. In the introduction to the miracle before us we read in St. Luke, and in St. Luke only, καὶ ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῆς, translated in A. and R.V. "they besought him for her." Dr. Stanton (p. 279) translates the words "and they *questioned* him about her." And he adds, "it is just the expression which would be used in the case of a physician who had been called in, or who had happened to enter a house where there was a sick person. At this early point in the history, when Jesus was just beginning to show His power as a healer, it is eminently suitable." No doubt Dr. Stanton's rendering may hold good, but he seems to have gone further even than Dr. Hobart in attaching to the sentence a medical significance. And it seems strange that if he could find such a significance in this single sentence, he should fail to recognize it when the language is undoubtedly more technical.

In recounting the miracle itself, St. Luke says, "and immediately she rose up." Dr. Stanton remarks upon this that in the New Testament the word "immediately," παραχρῆμα, is found ten times in Luke, six in Acts (besides only at Matt. xxi. 19, 20), and that of the ten times in Luke, seven are in descriptions of cures. (It may be added that out of the six times in the Acts, three are associated with disease and death.) "The suddenness of the cures," adds Dr. Stanton, "seems to have impressed Luke as a man interested in things medical."

But can we not go further than this? We may

admit that the Greek word for "immediately" is used in the LXX. and in the best Attic prose. But still the fact remains that the term is used again and again by medical writers in close conjunction with medical terms, and that it is associated by them with symptoms of recovery or disease.

The inference is, therefore, that St. Luke is not merely using a favourite word for "immediately," just like St. Mark uses his favourite ἐνθύς, "immediately," but that he introduces here and elsewhere so frequently a word which a medical man would prefer to use.

It should be added that both Zahn and Harnack support this technical use of παραχρῆμα by St. Luke, and that they both refer to the fact that Dr. Hobart is able to give sixteen instances of the use of the word in one writing of Hippocrates, to say nothing of its constant employment by Galen and Dioscorides.

In Luke v. 12-16, Dr. Stanton is struck by the description of the man in the third Gospel "full of leprosy," πλήρης λέπρας. In St. Matthew and St. Mark we have simply "a leper," λεπρός. In the use of the phrase "full of leprosy" we are sometimes asked to see an instance of St. Luke's cultured mode of expression. But why should he not have used the word of the other Evangelists? It is a good classical word, and it finds a place in the LXX. But St. Luke says "full of leprosy," and in doing so he uses a phrase not found in the LXX. (although reference is made in the LXX. to this disease), and an adjective which is constantly associated with various diseases by medical writers.

Certainly it must be admitted that the adjective πλήρης, "full," is characteristic of St. Luke in various associations, but no doubt the fact that it is so frequently used by medical writers in connection with disease inclines Dr. Harnack to regard it here as probably a medical term.

In the later part of the chapter, vv. 17-26, Dr. Stanton notes the great medical word, ἰασις, "healing," which is found only in St. Luke, and the frequent employment by the same writer of the cognate verb ἰασθαι. And he then proceeds to point out that the word παραλελυμένος, "palsied," is used in vv. 18, 24 (so also Acts viii. 7; ix. 33), whilst St. Matthew and St. Mark employ another word, παραλυτικός, which is nowhere used by St. Luke (although in v. 24 W.H. have it in the margin).

Both Zahn and Harnack (so also J. Weiss) lay stress upon the use of this technical word. It is no doubt employed in 3 Macc. ix. 22, where it is said of Ptolemy Philopator that he was palsied in his limbs, τοῖς μέλεσι παραλελυμένος, and it is found also in Heb. xii. 12, but in a metaphorical sense, in a quotation from Isa. xxxv. 3.

Dr. Harnack frankly admits that the word used by St. Luke may be a verbal emendation for the popular word used by the other Evangelists, but he adds that it is also a technical term used by the medical men, who do not employ the other and popular word. Dr. Hobart maintains its technical use by quotations from four different medical writers, whilst Dr. Plummer (with Dr. Salmon) regards it as a strong instance of the use of medical language, and he adds

the interesting fact that *παραλελυμένος* is used also by Aristotle, a physician's son. In v. 25, as Dr. Stanton notes, we have again the characteristic "immediately," *παραχρῆμα*, and also a fresh word for the man's bed, showing, says Dr. Stanton, an aversion to the repeated use of the same word. But it is remarkable that St. Luke uses no less than four words for bed, two of them in common with Matthew and Mark, and also two other words, one of them in this passage, *κλινίδιον*. Both it and another word, *κλινάριον*, also peculiar to St. Luke, are used of the couches of the sick, but they are not found in the LXX. (although they are used colloquially and in classical Greek).\*

In Luke viii. 43 we have another of the touches which affords us, in Dr. Stanton's words, "an example of Luke's interest in things medical." But so far as this instance is concerned, there is some considerable doubt, which Dr. Stanton does not notice, as to whether the words in which it is said of the woman with an issue of blood that she "had spent all her living upon physicians" should be retained at all. Dr. Harnack considers that they may be a later addition, although, on the other hand, Dr. Zahn points out that even if the words in question are omitted we are still left with St. Luke's statement that she could not be healed of any, presumably of any physicians.†

\* It will be noticed that the two words are diminutives, but the employment of diminutives, although it is sometimes said to be characteristic of St. Mark, has never been noticed as a characteristic of St. Luke.

† Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, vol. ii., p. 437; Harnack, *Lukas der Arzt*, p. 127.

But the R.V. retains the words in the text, although the margin reminds us that some ancient authorities omit them.

In passing to the concluding portions of the Gospel, we have a mention of the fact (Luke xxii. 50) that it was the *right* ear of the high priest's servant which was cut off.

Dr. Stanton notices that St. Luke is the only Evangelist who relates this, and he reminds us of the incident in vi. 6, in which St. Luke alone relates that the man with the palsy had his *right* hand withered. In face of the medical evidence which can be adduced, it would seem natural to say that this special mention of the *right* ear and the *right* hand points to the narrative of a physician. But Dr. Stanton does not draw this conclusion, and with regard to the high priest's servant he only remarks that the detail shows how St. Luke was probably relying on another account distinct from that of St. Mark.

But Dr. Hobart gives us many instances which go to prove his assertion that "the medical writers invariably state whether it is the right or left member that is affected," and with these instances we may compare the very interesting remarks of an English medical man, Dr. T. W. Belcher (*Our Lord's Miracles of Healing*, p. 121).

But surely the remarkable thing in these two miracles, the healing of the withered hand and the healing of the servant's ear, is this—that we are able in both cases to place side by side the parallel passages in St. Matthew and in St. Mark (and in the later



miracle, in St. John), but that St. Luke alone introduces the mention of the particular member affected. If we pass to some of the sections peculiar to St. Luke we come to the parable of the good Samaritan, and Dr. Stanton reminds us that the expression to "take care of him" (Luke x. 34, 35), may be compared with the phrase to "refresh himself" (Acts xxviii. 3). Both the verb ἐπιμελεῖσθαι and the phrase ἐπιμελείας τυχεῖν are found only in these passages in the Gospel and the Acts in the New Testament (with the exception of the verb in quite a different sense in 1 Tim. iii. 5), and these words, as Harnack and Zahn both agree, are in constant use by medical writers.\*

But in Luke xiii., xiv. we find much more valuable instances for our purpose.

In xiii. 10, Dr. Stanton bids us notice "the precise description of the woman's physical condition, and in xiv. 1, in the word used for the man with the dropsy (ὕδρωπικός), "the precise description of a disease; the word does not occur elsewhere."† But let us look at

\* So too J. Weiss and Vogel. Zahn and J. Weiss find other medical terms in the same parable, but it is not wise to press them. One epithet "half dead" (ἡμιθανής), which is used of the wounded man in the parable, is strongly emphasized by Zahn, Harnack, J. Weiss, and it is found in at least one remarkable passage in Galen, in which he speaks of travellers "half dead" with frost and cold being carried to an inn (πανδοχεῖον). Dr. Harnack even goes so far as to say in a note that one might almost think that Galen had read Luke (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 132). But ἡμιθανής is used in the LXX. and by Strabo.

† Between the two miracles in xiii. and xiv., we get the remarkable saying (xiii. 32), "Behold I cast out devils and perform cures," on which Dr. Stanton comments, "For the stress laid on the work of healing in this saying, cf. ix. 1." In this latter passage, "and He called the twelve together, and gave them power and authority over all devils and to cure diseases," as in xiii. 32, we see how St. Luke usually mentions

the description of these two miracles a little more closely.

In xiii. 10 a woman is mentioned who had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, "and she was bowed together and could in no wise lift herself up." The verb ἀνακύπτειν, to lift up, is quite a technical medical word, and it is used by Galen of straightening the vertebræ of the spine (see other instances in Wetstein and Hobart).

The verb is used apparently twice in the LXX., but quite differently, as *e.g.* of lifting up or throwing back the head, and so too in classical Greek. St. Luke also employs it of looking up in joy (Luke xxi. 28), and it is also found twice in John viii. 7, 10, of lifting one's self up, as in the text.\* But there is quite sufficient evidence to justify us in regarding it as a technical medical word. "And immediately she was made straight." Here again Dr. Stanton reminds us that the suddenness of the cure (παραχρῆμα) seems to have impressed Luke as a man interested in things medical. It may be unreasonable (as Dr. Plummer maintains) to class ἀνορθόω in this phrase as medical, but it is noteworthy that although the verb occurs often enough in the LXX. it is not used there of disease,

the curing of demoniacs separately from other diseases; cf. also iv. 40, 41; vi. 17, 18; vii. 21; viii. 2; Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 239; F. Rendall, *Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 104, 280.

\* "She was bowed together," ἦν συγκύπτουσα. It does not seem possible to regard συγκύπτειν (cf. Eccclus. xii. 11, xix. 26, in LXX.) as a technical medical term (but see the general instances given *in loco* by Wetstein), but the combined use of the two verbs συγκύπτειν and ἀνακύπτειν form "a precise description of the woman's physical condition." See to the same effect, Harnack, *Lukas der Arzt*, p. 131.

while on the other hand it is frequently employed by medical writers in their technical treatment of straightening abnormal or dislocated parts of the body. We have also to remember that it is not only the suddenness of the cure which impressed St. Luke, but also the exact length of time that the woman had suffered from her infirmity, and Dr. Hobart may well speak of the description as bearing traces of medical writing.

There is one other phrase in the description of the woman which commands attention. St. Luke speaks of the woman as having "a spirit of infirmity," and Dr. Stanton sees in this expression *πνεῦμα ἁσθενείας* an instance of the manner in which "Luke distinguishes the spirit from the organism in which it works and the special form of its manifestation. (cf. iv. 33; Acts xvi. 16)."

But Dr. Harnack says quite definitely that the expression in Acts xvi. 16, "a spirit, a Python," *πνεῦμα πύθωνα*, points to the care of a medical man, who was also an eye-witness, to describe the girl not merely as having a demon, but as having a Pytho-spirit (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 125).

In noting the second of these two miracles, also peculiar to St. Luke, of the healing of the man with the dropsy (xiv. 2, *ὕδρωπικός*), Dr. Stanton remarks on "the precise description of the disease; the word does not occur elsewhere." The disease is referred to in the LXX. but the term *ὕδρωπικός* is not used there, although it is found in classical Greek. But the notable thing is that it is used only by St. Luke in the New Testament, and that this adjective to describe

the dropsy is found in Galen, Hippocrates, Dioscorides. Harnack and Dr. J. Weiss, to say nothing of other critics, regard it as a technical medical term in the passage before us, and it should never be forgotten that it is with reference to this miracle that Wetstein made his judicious comment "*Lucas qui medicus fuerat morbos accuratius describere solet*," which he repeats in his remarks on Acts xxviii. 8.

It would seem, therefore, that if we were to confine ourselves simply to the instances enumerated by Dr. Stanton, we should be in possession of a very considerable amount of evidence tending to show the frequent and definite use of medical terms, and also an interest in medical things, by the writer of the third Gospel.

Another important result follows from this examination, viz. that in many cases in which we can draw parallels between the language of St. Luke and that of the other Evangelists, St. Luke often introduces a distinctly medical term.

We may illustrate this by an instance already referred to in Luke iv. 38, 39, where St. Luke introduces distinctly medical terms in contrast to the simple *πυρέσσουσα* of Mark i. 30 and of Matthew viii. 13, or again by the constant use of *παραλελυμένος* where the other evangelists have *παραλυτικός*, and Dr. Zahn is right in placing these and similar instances in the forefront of his inquiry. Not the least notable of these parallel instances is that of the woman with the issue of blood (Luke viii. 43). All the Synoptists relate her cure (cf. Mark v. 25, Matt.

ix. 20), and at first sight it might seem as if St. Mark, at all events, was quite as medical in his description as St. Luke. For both say, in medical language, "having an issue of blood," but St. Luke alone says, "immediately the issue of her blood stanchèd" (ἔστη), while St. Mark uses another expression, "immediately the fountain of her blood was dried up" (ἐξηράνθη).

But Dr. Zahn and Dr. Harnack (so, too, J. Weiss and Jacquier) draw attention to the technical language of St. Luke in contrast to the more popular language of St. Mark, and they both endorse the comments of Dr. Hobart: "This is the only passage in the New Testament in which ἰσχύειν is used in this sense. It is the usual word in the medical writers to denote the stoppage of bodily diseases, and especially such as are mentioned here" (see both *Lukas der Arzt*, p. 129, and Plummer, *in loco*). Dr. Clemen, in his criticism of this passage, entirely misses the point, for whilst he emphasizes the fact that both St. Luke and St. Mark employ quite medical language in the phrase "having an issue of blood" (which nobody denies), he makes no attempt whatever to explain the remarkable introduction by St. Luke of the technical term ἔστη as meaning "stanchèd." (*Theologische Rundschau*, p. 101, April, 1907).

Again, all the Synoptists give our Lord's saying, "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." Both St. Matthew and St. Mark (Matt. ix. 12; Mark ii. 17) use the same word in the Greek, meaning "they that are strong," οἱ ἰσχύοντες, whilst St. Luke introduces a distinctly medical term



meaning "they that are in good health," οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες (Luke v. 31).\*

If we turn to one or two of our Lord's notable miracles, we see again how St. Luke introduces terms which are not found in the other Synoptists. For instance, in the healing of the demoniac in the synagogue at Capernaum (Luke iv. 35 ; Mark i. 26), Dr. Hobart points out that the word ῥίψαν in St. Luke is the word employed by medical men for convulsive fits, and that it is used in connection with disease in the New Testament by St. Luke alone.

Dr. Harnack (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 128) strongly supports Hobart, and he also contends that the additional words in St. Luke, that the evil spirit "hurt him not," μηδὲν βλάψαν αὐτόν, are also technical, although they seem so simple, as βλάπτειν is constantly used in medical language in contrast to ὠφελεῖν, to benefit. In this view Dr. Harnack is supported by Dr. Zahn.

But without pressing this, we pass to another notable case of a somewhat similar healing which is narrated most graphically by all the Synoptists, the cure of the demoniac boy, as our Lord came down from the Mount of the Transfiguration.

\* "This looks like a deliberate change made by Luke for the sake of a word which could more definitely express health as opposed to sickness. Like παραελυμένος for παραλυτικός, and ἰᾶσθαι for διασώζειν (Luke vi. 19), these changes may be the result of Luke's medical training. But would Luke have made changes in a report of Christ's words? There would be no need to have scruples, for οἱ ἰσχύοντες is only a translation of the Aramaic, and Luke might think that ὑγιαίνοντες was a better translation" (Plummer, *St. Luke*, pp. 160, 161).



Here Zahn, Harnack, and J. Weiss all point to the word ἐπιβλέψαι which is used by St. Luke alone, "Master, I beseech Thee, *to look upon* my son." But it is very doubtful how far we can press this, for the verb is constantly used in the LXX. of regarding with pity, and not in a technical sense as by the medical men. It is perhaps more to the point to note with Dr. Zahn that just like παραχρῆμα, Luke's favourite word for "immediately," so here ἐξαίφνης, "suddenly," is used as a medical writer would use it. The adverb is found four times in St. Luke's writings, but only once in the rest of the New Testament, and it was constantly used by doctors of sudden crying out, of spasm, and paroxysm.

In the healing of the Gadarene demoniac, which is narrated by all three Synoptists, Dr. Harnack and Dr. Zahn both refer to the fact that the man wore no clothes, and that St. Luke alone mentions this symptom of mania. But the same fact, we must remember, is implied in the narrative of St. Mark (not St. Matthew), although it is still noticeable that St. Luke positively affirms it; just as he states more clearly than the other Evangelists that the man took up his abode in the tombs, a propensity mentioned positively by Galen as characteristic of similar cases.

One other familiar instance of a saying narrated by all the Synoptists shows us that St. Luke could use not only single medical words, but a combination of such terms. "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God," so we read in Matt. xix. 24, Mark x. 35, Luke xviii. 25. But it is interesting

that while Matthew and Mark use the same word for needle, *ῥαφίς*, Luke introduces another word, *βελόνη*, the term invariably employed by medical writers for the needle used in surgical operations. But this is not all. Dr. Hobart bids us also remember that while Matthew and Mark both use much the same word for the eye of the needle, St. Luke introduces another word, according to the best textual authorities, a word used for a puncture of any kind ; it is, in fact, a great medical word, and the combination of the two terms *βελόνη* and *τρῆμα* is found in Galen.

It is noteworthy that the famous German scholar Dr. Nestle concludes that the combination of the two terms betrays the hand of a physician. But in addition to this, special emphasis is laid upon this remarkable combination of terms by Dr. Zahn (*Einleitung*, vol. ii. p. 436), and Dr. Harnack (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 137) emphatically endorses Zahn's judgment on this passage.\*

After examining the language in several of our Lord's miracles of healing, Dr. Harnack concludes that only a very small portion of the additions made by St. Luke are due to his efforts to improve upon the language of St. Mark, and that a large proportion of them show plainly the hand of one who was either himself a medical man or was keenly interested in medical matters (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 128).

If, however, we were to endeavour to test each

\* So, too, special weight is attached to these instances by Belser, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 109 ; and by Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N. T.*, p. 445.

addition or each change in language by the requirements mentioned by Dr. Plummer, it is evident that great care would be needed. To take a single instance, St. Luke describes our Lord as saying to one who had bidden Him to a feast, "But when thou makest a feast, bid the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind" (xiv. 13), and in the parable of the Great Supper which follows, the Evangelist represents the master of the house as commanding to bring in the poor, and maimed, and blind, and lame (xiv. 21). The word for maimed in both verses (*ἀνάπειρος*) is used only by St. Luke in the New Testament, but both Zahn and Harnack, following Hobart, reckon it as an instance of a medical term colouring St. Luke's language. But the adjective in question is found twice in the LXX., and it is used in the same sense as here by Aristotle and Plato, the latter (*Crito*, p. 53A) regarding it as including the lame and the blind (*χωλοί, τυφλοί*, as in this passage in St. Luke).

But the Gospel of St. Luke does not stand alone, and if we turn to the Acts of the Apostles we shall find a number of terms more or less medical, and incidents containing characteristic features of a medical man's training. We shall meet with medical terms which find a place in the two Lucan books, and not often, if at all, anywhere else in the New Testament, as, *e.g.*, *ἀνακαθίζω, ἰάσις, παραλελυμένος, παραχρήμα, ἰᾶσθαι*.\*

\* Dr. R. Scott, in his book entitled *The Pauline Epistles* (1909), has lately argued that St. Luke was the author of the Pastoral Epistles, and he quotes several medical terms in proof (p. 339 ff.).

But whilst it is not likely that Dr. Scott's view as to St. Luke's authorship will gain many supporters, it is worth noting that there are

From the days of Bengel to our own, commentators seem to have been specially impressed by the healing of the lame man (Acts iii.). Bengel, in his examination of the terms used, adds, "proprie locutus est medicus Lucas;" and Harnack asks, How could any one more fully, and yet at the same time more briefly, describe the process of healing? (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 133). In his further allusions to it (chaps. iv. 10 and iv. 22), the writer shows the impression which the miracle had made upon him. Here, as elsewhere, the notes of time are remembered, and the stages of the recovery are given (Hobart, p. 37).

As to the technical use of the words βάσεις and σφυρά something may be fairly said, and the verb στερεόω, although frequent in the LXX., is constantly found in medical writers, and only in St. Luke in the New Testament.

It is quite true that βάσεις (feet) is found both in the LXX. and in classical Greek, and that σφυρά (ankle-bones) also finds a place in classical writers. But the whole of the description "and immediately his feet and his ankle-bones received strength" (Acts iii. 7) is emphasized as medical by Zahn, Belser, and Jacquier, no less than by Harnack. Of παραλελυμένος and ἀνακαθίζω we have already spoken. They occur in the miracles of the healing of Æneas and Tabitha,

several terms and expressions in the Pastoral Epistles which might be classed as medical, and such terms might well be accounted for by the fact that St. Paul was so often in the company of a skilled physician like St. Luke (see a valuable article by Dr. Plumptre, "St. Luke and St. Paul," *Expositor*, vol. iv. p. 145; and also Findlay, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle*, p. 213).

Acts ix. 33 and ix. 40 respectively. But we find in the case of Tabitha the same characteristic mention by the writer of the gradual stages of recovery, and in that of Æneas the duration of time of the disease and the immediateness of the recovery.

Two German scholars, Dr. Zahn and Dr. J. Weiss, call attention to the words used in Acts v. 16 and also Luke vi. 18, ὀχλῆω and ἐνοχλῆω, for those vexed and troubled with unclean spirits (although ἐνοχλῆω is used once again, Heb. xii. 15, but evidently in a non-technical sense). Both the words are found in the LXX., the former in connection with trouble caused by an evil spirit, and the latter in connection with various notices of sickness. But Dr. Hobart is able to adduce some remarkable instances of the use of the verbs by medical writers in connection with various diseases and ailments (see, however, p. 121, above).

The narratives of the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts v. 6, 10) and of Herod (Acts xii. 23), introduce a term in each case which is very remarkable—ἐκψύχειν, to give up the ghost. The word is not found in classical Greek, although it occurs twice in the LXX., but not apparently in the same sense as in the Acts. But Dr. Harnack's *Lukas der Arzt* (p. 134), following Hobart (so too Zahn), refers to its medical use by Hippocrates, Galen, and Aretæus (although he also points out that it is found in Jamblichus, A.D. 300, and, he might have added, in the Apocryphal *Acts of Andrew and Matthias*, 19, of men suddenly falling down dead (Lumby)).

The missionary journeys in the Acts also supply



us with *data* of importance and interest. Thus in xiii. 11 it is related of Elymas that immediately there fell upon him a mist and a darkness. The word for "mist," ἀχλύς, is no doubt quite usual in classical Greek for a disease of the eyesight, but it is not found in the LXX., whilst both it and the accompanying noun, "darkness" (σκότος), are frequently employed by medical writers in connection with blindness. Dr. Harnack seems quite prepared to find in the account (with its characteristic παραχρήμα) the traces of medical writing, and so, too, does Jacquier, who is very cautious in his sifting of materials. This conclusion would certainly be strengthened if in the word translated "fell upon" we have a compound of πίπτω, viz. ἐπιπίπτω, which is used in medical language of an attack of disease. Dr. Harnack allows that it is a possible reading, and it was also adopted by B. Weiss in his edition of the Acts (but Dr. Plummer, *Luke*, p. lxv., with strong textual and editorial authority, is against it).

The lame man at Lystra, in chapter xiv., is described as "impotent in his feet" (ἀδύνατος τοῖς ποσίν). But in Tobit we have more than once the phrase ἀδύνατος τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, to say nothing of its classical use. But just as in the case of the lame man in the Temple (Acts iii.), so here we note that the man is described as a cripple from his mother's womb, and that as in the former case so here, we have the vivid touches of a writer who knew the details of the case: "he leaped up as it were with a single bound" (ἤλατο), "and began to walk" (περιεπάτει), xiv. 10. But it is somewhat surprising



that Dr. Harnack should lay so much stress upon the phrase "impotent in his feet."

Another vivid touch may be noted in the case of Eutychus at Troas (Acts xx. 7). In the Greek Eutychus is described as gradually oppressed by sleep (pres. part.), and then as being borne down by sleep (Ramsay, *Paul the Traveller*, p. 270; see also Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, vol. ii. p. 319).

The verb is used with the same meaning in classical Greek, though not found in the LXX., and not elsewhere in the New Testament. But when we remember that St. Luke himself was probably present at the scene, it is very natural that he should express by a distinguishing epithet the degree of sleep, as was often done by the medical writers. Hippocrates, Aretæus, Galen, all use the same adjective βαθύς joined to ὕπνος. Moreover, Dr. Harnack with Dr. Zahn, following Hobart, points out (*Lukas der Arzt*, pp. 125, 131) that not only is the verb καταφέρεισθαι peculiar to St. Luke, but that it was often used absolutely by medical writers of sleep. This emphasis laid by Dr. Harnack upon the force of the verb in question is the more noticeable, because he adds in a note that while Hobart would regard several other words in the narrative as medical, he feels constrained to leave these on one side.

The last chapter of the Acts, as we have seen, is one of the most important of all in our inquiry, especially in connection with the miracle of Luke iv. 38 ff.

Dr. Zahn and Dr. Harnack both lay stress upon the incident of the viper fastening on St. Paul's hand (v. 3), and they find several medical terms used in the description of the incident. Dr. Harnack, indeed, asserts that only through a due consideration of the medical language which it contains can this passage be properly explained. The word *θηρίον* (v. 5), *e.g.*, is common in medical language for a viper, and it is so used by Aretæus and Galen and Dioscorides. In the passage before us it is evidently used as synonymous with *ἐχίδνα* in v. 3.

The verb *καταπίπτειν*, to fall down (v. 6), must not be pressed, as it might be used for falling down quite apart from any medical associations, but it would seem that *πύμπρασθαι*, to swell, to become swollen, may be fairly regarded as a technical medical word (and so both Zahn and Harnack regard it), although a cognate verb *πρήθειν* is used in the LXX. of parts of the body swelling (Numb. v. 21, 22, 27).

One other word in this narrative is of great importance, *ἄτοπος*, "amiss" (v. 6), because it is so fully endorsed by Zahn and Harnack as a technical medical term.

Harnack quotes with approval (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 125) the many instances adduced by Hobart of the employment of the word as meaning anything fatal, deadly, and the remarkable passages in Galen of the use of the word in connection with the bite of a mad dog, or with poison.

It is quite true that the word is used in the LXX. and by Josephus, as also by classical writers, in an ethical sense, but it is also used by Josephus and so

by Thucydides of harm happening to any one, as in the passage before us.

In the New Testament it is used only by St. Luke and by St. Paul, and, with the exception of the account of this miracle, in an ethical sense. But whilst it is noteworthy that Dr. Hobart's view of this section should be so fully adopted by Dr. Zahn and Dr. Harnack, and that the latter should describe the whole episode as coloured by the employment of medical language, it is none the less important to note that even Dr. Clemen admits the force of the two words *θηρίον* and *ἄστρος* as indicating the hand of a medical man (*Paulus, sein Leben und Wirken*, vol. i. p. 164), although he will not allow that such proof is convincing, or, at all events, that it is only so for the section in question.

This does not seem a very logical position. The section in question is a long one. It contains, on Dr. Clemen's own showing, several medical terms; it refers not only to one great case of healing, but to several. And if a medical hand is so apparent in this section at the close of the Acts, why should we not rather expect that a similar presence should make itself felt in the rest of the book, which comes, as there is good reason to believe, from the same author?

It can scarcely be said that Dr. Clemen has strengthened his position by an article which he has contributed to the current number of the *Hibbert Journal* (July, 1910), entitled "Professor Harnack on Acts." "Truly," he says, "the author of the Lucan writings employs some medical terms, in their medical sense, but in a few cases he uses them in such a way

as no physician would have done." But is this really so? Let us look at the instances adduced by Dr. Clemen. He tells us that a Greek physician would not have been likely to describe Herod Agrippa as being eaten of worms (Acts xii.); a Greek physician would probably be aware that there was no such sickness. But if Dr. Clemen will refer to the article "Medicine" in Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, written by a distinguished man of science, Dr. A. Macalister, F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy in the University of Cambridge,\* might he not find cause, at least, to modify his somewhat summary statement?

"The disease of Herod Agrippa I. recorded in Acts xii. 21," writes Dr. Macalister (*u.s.*, p. 330), "was a sudden and fatal seizure of some abdominal complaint, accompanied with intense agony, and in some way connected with worms. Sir J. R. Bennett (*Diseases of the Bible*, 1887) has surmised that it was acute peritonitis set up by the perforation of the bowel by an intestinal worm. This is a rare but not an impossible condition." † But, again, it has often been

\* Dr. Macalister, amongst many remarks of interest, points out that Malta was one of the six districts in which the disease mentioned in Acts xxviii. 8 was most prevalent and most fatal (*u.s.* p. 325). See also, "Luke the Physician and Ancient Medicine," by Mr. Naylor, *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1909.

† Dr. Macalister also points out that the term σκωληκόβρωτος used here was also found in Theophrastus (*De Causis Plantarum*, v. 10) to signify "eaten of worms"; see also Hobart *in loco*. He also reminds us that in former times cases such as that of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. ix. 9) were not rare when the injuries were neglected (see also Jos., *Ant.*, xvii. 6, 5). It may be admitted that the word σκωληκόβρωτος is not found in medical language, but the words of which it is compounded undoubtedly are.

supposed (and great stress has been laid upon it by Harnack, Zahn, Belser, and more doubtfully by Plummer) that the phrase "corners of a sheet," ἀρχαὶ ὀθόνης, Acts x. 11, xi. 5, is medical, and Dr. Hobart is able to quote many instances, and especially from Galen, in which this Greek phrase is found. Dr. Clemen replies that the word ἀρχαὶ in medical terminology signifies only the ends of a bandage, and not of a shawl (*sic*), as is presupposed in Acts.

But although ὀθόνη is also used in medical language of a bandage, it is also used in classical Greek of a sail-cloth or a sail, so that it is quite possible that a medical man might use the combination ἀρχαὶ ὀθόνης in a secondary sense to express the four corners of a sheet, as in Acts.\*

Once more. Dr. Clemen urges with Wellhausen that a Greek physician would not represent the good Samaritan as pouring on the wounds of the man, who had fallen amongst robbers, oil and wine (Luke x. 34). But surely it must be remembered that the speaker of the parable is not St. Luke, describing the technical treatment of the sufferer by a physician, but our Lord Himself, Who is evidently referring in popular

Thus βιβρώσκω is constantly applied to the eating away of the flesh by disease, and σκώληξ is used both of worms in sores and of intestinal worms (Hobart, *u.s.*, p. 42).

\* Dr. Clemen also ignores the possible medical language of Acts ix. 18, "and straightway there fell from his eyes as it were scales" (*Theologische Rundschau*, p. 102, April, 1907). But here again the present writer would refer to *Literary Criticism and the New Testament*, p. 14, 1907, in which he has endeavoured to show that the two words λεπίδες and ἀποπίπτειν afford another instance of St. Luke's combination of medical terms. The illustration is endorsed as medical by Zahn, Harnack, and Belser.



language to the popular uses of the day. "Oil and Wine," writes Dr. Plummer, "were recognized household remedies. The two were sometimes mixed and used as a solace for wounds" (*St. Luke*, p. 288).

The instances to this effect given in Wetstein (Luke x. 34) are very interesting, and are derived from a variety of sources (see also article "Oil" in *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*). Dr. Harnack also enters the lists against Wellhausen and Clemen (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 32), and he points out with Hobart that wine and oil were used not only as internal medicine, but also as the usual remedies for sores and wounds.

Both Dr. Harnack and Dr. J. Weiss (Luke x. 34) endorse the instances given by Hobart, in which the same verb ἐπιχέειν (peculiar to St. Luke in the New Testament) is combined with ἔλαιον or οἶνος, and often with both together. These instances given by Dr. Clemen in his recent article do not seem to strengthen but rather to weaken his previous attack upon St. Luke's use of medical language (*Theologische Rundschau*, April, 1907).

We have so far confined ourselves to the phraseology of the third Gospel and the Acts which may be regarded as being technical. It would be possible to add to these the instances in which St. Luke shows his medical knowledge by distinguishing more frequently than the other Evangelists between ordinary maladies of the body and those maladies which come under the head of possession. Dr. Harnack speaks very strongly upon this characteristic of the Evangelist, and he instances several proofs of it

from the third Gospel and the Acts. The instances which he gives are Luke iv. 40, vi. 18, vii. 21, xiii. 32; Acts v. 16, xix. 11 (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 136).<sup>\*</sup> We have already noted the Evangelist's tendency to introduce notes of time and age more frequently than the other Gospel writers.

If we followed Dr. Hobart, it would be quite possible to consider the way in which Luke introduces medical terms in a secondary sense, a characteristic to which both Zahn and Harnack are careful to draw attention, although there may be a tendency on their part to exaggerate this part of their argument. Dr. Stanton states without hesitation (*u.s.*, p. 261) that there are very few of the instances under this head to which he finds it possible to attribute any weight at all. And so there is no need to press the matter, as the main argument is not affected.

But if we ask what is the value so far of our inquiry, it would seem to be this, viz. that the writer of the third Gospel and of the Acts is not only a cultured Greek, but a medical man. It is, of course, easy to say that many of the terms which he uses are such as would be used by a medical man who was also a man of education. But still there are many words and phrases which cannot be so easily and summarily accounted for, to say nothing of the several instances in which a medical term is used by St. Luke when he is compared with St. Mark and St. Matthew.

The present writer ventures to conclude that

<sup>\*</sup> See too F. Rendall, *Acts of the Apostles*, *u.s.*

Dr. Stanton does not go far enough in his examination of the question before us, whilst Dr. Zahn and Dr. Harnack go too far.\*

So far as the comparison is concerned, which has often been drawn between St. Luke's prologue and passages in the writings of those medical men to whom we have referred, it would seem that both Dr. Zahn and Dr. Harnack are inclined to pay no very great attention to the parallels between St. Luke's preface and that of Dioscorides in his book *περὶ ὕλης ἱατρικῆς*, whilst they are more impressed by the parallels between St. Luke's language and that of a dedication of one of his books by Galen.†

But, on the other hand, J. Weiss attaches great weight to the similarity which he finds between St. Luke's language and that of Dioscorides. In this he is at one with the view taken by Dr. Plummer.

And if with these two writers we may place Dioscorides in the first century (Zahn places him as early as 40-60 A.D.), it is quite possible that St. Luke may have read the treatise of his contemporary,

\* For example, they both lay stress upon the expression "ye continue fasting," *ἄσιτοι διατελείτε* (Acts xxvii. 33), and no doubt some striking collocations of the same two words are found in medical writers, especially Galen. But according to Wetstein, Dion. Hal. has precisely the same combination (cf. also the language of 2 Macc. v. 27).

† Galen, *e.g.*, has the same combination, *ἀκριβῶς παρακαλουθεῖν*, as is found in Luke i. 3, and so too has Josephus, although, as Dr. Plummer carefully points out, the resemblance between St. Luke's preface and the places quoted from Josephus (*Con. Apion.*, I. 9, 10) is very superficial and hardly amounts to remarkable coincidence. See an interesting note in J. Weiss, *Evangelium des Lukas*, on Luke i. 3, p. 289.

and that the two men may even have studied together at the great medical school of Tarsus.

There is another point of view from which the present inquiry may gain a practical interest. Critics may continue to dispute as to whether, in some particular instances, St. Luke uses technically medical terms or not, but one thing is certain, that "deliberately and consciously, the Church assumed the form of the religion of salvation or healing, or the medicine of soul and body. The New Testament itself is so saturated with medicinal expressions, employed metaphorically, that a collection of them would fill several pages" (Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 131, E.T.). To take but one instance only. The Church of England reads as the Second Lesson for the evening of Christmas Day the words of St. Paul, which speak of "the kindness of God our Saviour and His love towards man" (Titus iii. 4). The word *φιλανθρωπία*, "kindness," may fairly be reckoned as a term with medical associations; Æsculapius was himself regarded by the heathen world as a "saviour god," the most gracious friend of men, to whom the title *φιλανθρωπότατος* was given. No wonder that the early Christians for whom Jesus was *the* Saviour should so soon learn to speak of the "philanthropy," the kindness and love towards men, by which God had saved them (cf. Titus iii. 5). No wonder that, in spite of the fact that every god in the heathen cities around them claimed to be a saviour, and that the emperor, on his imperial throne, was worshipped and spoken of as such, Christians should reserve the title "Saviour" for

Jesus and for Jesus alone ; that they should see in Baptism and the Eucharist alike the recovery of the soul's true health and strength ; and that they should compare themselves to humane physicians, who did their best for the care of the sick and the dying. Can we not readily believe how St. Luke, as he found himself day by day face to face with depths of sin and impurity, which seemed like a kind of madness, which he could only attribute to the working of some mysterious evil power, would love to recall the presence of the Prince of Life, by faith in whose Name, from the earliest days of the Church's birth, both body and soul had been cured ? \* And as time went on, we can understand how a Christian bishop like Aphraates of Edessa could describe the Bible as "the books of the wise Physician."

Amongst those books the Church still turns with humble thankfulness to the writings composed by an Evangelist, who was also a physician of the soul, and still prays in earnest faith that by the wholesome medicines of the doctrine delivered by him all the diseases of our souls may be healed.

\* Cf. also "Luke the Physician and Ancient Medicine," by the Rev. J. Naylor, *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1909.



## VI

### ST. IRENÆUS AND HIS NEWLY RECOVERED LETTER

NOT the least interesting amongst recent "finds" is a letter of St. Irenæus, in an Armenian version. It was discovered in 1904 by an Armenian scholar, amongst some manuscripts in a church dedicated to the Virgin at Erivan, in Russian Armenia.

In the previous year Dr. Rendel Harris, travelling in the same country, had made the acquaintance of this learned Armenian at the famous convent of Etschmiadzin, but, as he tells us, he little suspected that a patristic document of the first importance was lying only a few miles away, and waiting to be discovered.\*

Some delay occurred in the translation of the letter into German, and it was not published until 1907, when it appeared with notes and annotations by Dr. Harnack. There can be no doubt that it comes to us from the pen of St. Irenæus, and we are able approximately to fix its date, as it refers to the great work of Irenæus, *Against Heresies*.†

\* *Expositor*, March, 1907. That there was in existence an Armenian version of the works of St. Irenæus had long been known (see F. C. Conybeare, *Expositor*, July, 1907).

† References will be found below to the recent edition by the Dutch theologian, L. T. Wieten, and also to the recent French edition by

We may admit, at the outset, that in some respects the letter does not fulfil the expectations which were at first associated with its recovery. But the present paper is an endeavour to show that it has special points of contact with the thought of our own day, whilst the personality and the work of St.

P. Beuzart. Cf. also *Des heiligen Irenäus Schrift zum Erweise der apostolischen Verkündigung, mit einen Nachwort und Anmerkungen*, by A. Harnack (Leipzig, 1907).

Dr. Harnack apparently places the writing at the close of the second century, and amongst English scholars Dr. Rendel Harris would place it, more positively, in the last decade of the same century. The Rev. F. H. R. Montgomery (*J.T.S.*, Jan. 1908) contends for a little later date, as he places the work *Against Heresies* about 195 A.D., and regards the reference in the letter under discussion to "kings who now hate Him and persecute His name" as a reference to the persecution 202 A.D. under Septimius Severus. But the reference to the kings might be quite general, as the context might indicate, and it is well to remember that at the outbreak of the persecution under Severus it was still illegal to be a Christian at all (see H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, p. 236).

Wieten's work is important, and gains the high praise of N. Bonwetsch (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, April 30, 1910).

The treatise was written for the degree of Doctor in the University of Utrecht. Wieten places the letter about 196, at all events after the reign of Commodus, since in ch. 48 there is a mention made of persecuting kings (a reference which would not apply to Commodus). Wieten thinks that St. Irenæus worked in the apologetic parts of his treatise upon the model of Justin Martyr (*Apol.*, 31-53). With R. Harris (and Beuzart), he points out that Irenæus apparently used the letter of St. Polycarp.

P. Beuzart (*Essai sur la Théologie d'Irénée*, 1908), a Romanist writer, unfortunately gives no opinion as to the date of the letter, although he has evidently studied it with care (cf. pp. 77, 113, 129, 163). On p. 163 he lays special stress upon the teaching of the letter as to the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, and he emphasizes (p. 129) the conclusion of ch. 98, which sums up the preceding teaching as to the way of life, foretold by the prophets, and fulfilled by Christ, a teaching which the Apostles have handed down and the Church in the whole world has delivered to her children.

Irenæus would always give a charm and importance to any document which comes to us in his name.

Briefly, we note that he was born about 130, and that he was the pupil of St. Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna, near which he seems to have lived for a time. Polycarp was himself the disciple of St. John, and through Polycarp Irenæus has well been called the spiritual grandson of St. John, and a link with those Apostles who seem to have settled in Asia Minor after the fall of Jerusalem, John, Andrew, Philip. Modern criticism with all its efforts cannot be said to have weakened the force of these facts, but it must suffice on the present occasion, to name two or three books which help to justify this assertion. One of them deals specially and fully with the testimony of St. Irenæus, by Dr. Gutjahr, Professor in Graz, 1904,\* whilst two others may be mentioned, especially as they come to us from men representing very different points of view, Dr. Zahn in his great Commentary *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (1908), pp. 13-14 ; Professor Lepin, writing as a devout and learned Romanist, in his *L'Origine du quatrième Evangile*, p. 76 (1907) —whilst English readers may be interested in noting that von Schubert, in his recent *Outlines of Church History* (p. 44, E.T., 1907), can write: "Irenæus in his youth knew Polycarp, who in turn had sat at the feet of John. Polycarp and John attained a great age, so that Irenæus carries us back, through

\* *Die Glaubwürdigkeit des Irenäischen Zeugnisses über die Abfassung des vierten kanonischen Evangeliums aufs neue untersucht.*

long-lived generations, into the Apostolic age itself." \*

We may also note, in passing, that it is quite natural that St. Irenæus should often refer to St. John as "the disciple of the Lord"; he does so in his great work *Against Heresies*, and he does so in this new treatise (although he speaks of the Apostle Paul). This is just what we might expect, for in St. John's Gospel the word "apostle" is only used once (xiii. 16), and then with quite a general import, whilst "disciple" is frequently employed.

But there are other facts which give force and value to the testimony of St. Irenæus. He did not stay in Asia Minor, or write from Asia Minor. During part of his life he lived and lectured in Rome, and later on he became the second bishop of Lyons, so that you will see that he was thus acquainted with East and West alike.

"Critics speak of Irenæus," writes Dr. James Drummond, "as though he had fallen out of the moon, paid two or three visits to Polycarp's lecture-room, and never known any one else." † But he points out the absurdity of such an estimate, and rightly reminds us that, as a matter of fact, Irenæus must have known all sorts of men and men of all ages in East and West alike, and that amongst them must be numbered his venerable predecessor, Pothinus, who was over ninety years old at the time of his martyrdom.

\* The fact that von Schubert speaks elsewhere of the "mysterious" personage who wrote the fourth Gospel leaves untouched the force of his reference to the closeness of Irenæus to the Apostolic age.

† *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 348.

On two occasions Irenæus seems to have acted, as his name might indicate, as a peacemaker. But although he was a Peace-man, his strength lay not only in quietness, but in confidence. In the work by which he will always be best known he defends our Lord's Person against the attacks of various heretical schools, and he maintains that in the Incarnation is the sole explanation and justification of Christian doctrine and life. In Christ all human history is summed up ; He recapitulates it. And so, too, He recapitulates every stage of man's growth, which is sanctified by Him and by His sharing in it (*Against Heresies*, iii. 18. 1). Few passages in patristic literature are better known than that in which St. Irenæus speaks of our Lord as passing through every age ; being first made an Infant unto infants, to sanctify infants ; among little ones, a little One to sanctify such as are of the same age ; among youths, a Youth, becoming a pattern to youths and sanctifying them to the Lord ; an Elder among elders, in order not only to be a perfect Master, but in age sanctifying the elder persons as well, becoming an Example to sanctify them also ; lastly, coming even unto death that He might be the Prince of Life, first of all, and going before all (*Against Heresies*, ii. 22. 4).

And this teaching, which made St. Irenæus confident that he was a guide of the blind, a corrector of the foolish, a teacher of babes, was associated, we may justly infer, with a brave and strong Christian life.

The first bishop of Lyons, the aged Pothinus,

suffered, as we have noted, a cruel martyrdom.\* And if Irenæus was selected to succeed him, he was called to sustain a heavy task and burden. Whether the saint was himself a martyr we do not know. It may be that in God's providence the Peace-man departed this life in peace. At least, we may be sure that the simple words "in Peace," which so often marked the graves in the catacombs, would form a fitting epitaph for the grave of Irenæus. And he, being dead, yet speaks to us in words which tell of the peace and the strength which Christ alone can give, of the peace which, in the metaphor of St. Paul, stands sentry, keeps guard, as it were, over our hearts.

Now, there are one or two points which we do well to remember in relation to the teaching of St. Irenæus. Bishop Lightfoot reminded us with great force that the New Testament of St. Irenæus was practically the same as ours; that his Creed, his Rule of Faith, in its statement of historical facts, was practically the same as ours; that it was accepted and promulgated by St. Irenæus, not as the Creed of his own Church only, but as the Creed of the whole of Christendom. After speaking of the way in which the Churches in Germany, in Spain, the Celts, the Churches in the East, in Egypt and Libya, and in the middle parts of the world, had believed and delivered, he adds, "But as the sun, the creature of God, is one

\* See *Epistle to the Gallican Churches*, p. 33 (S.P.C.K.). "Tourists must look for the scene of this martyrdom in the oldest quarter of Lyons, now called Fourvière, *i.e.* Forum Vetus" (H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, p. 295).



and the same throughout the whole world, so also the preaching of the truth shineth everywhere, and lighteneth all men who wish to come to a perfect knowledge of the truth " (*Against Heresies*, i. 10. 2).<sup>\*</sup> These features, characteristic of the belief and teaching of St. Irenæus, are confirmed fully by the newly recovered treatise.

It is not a work directed primarily against heresies, but it is a work which is evidently meant for the strengthening of the brethren in the spiritual life, and it is of the greatest importance for the religious and theological position of Irenæus and of the Catholic Church at the close of the second century. For it shows us the great bishop in the light of a catechist. He is writing to a dear friend, Marcian by name, of whom we know nothing except that he is mentioned by the historian Eusebius as a friend of St. Irenæus. The saint writes to his friend in a very beautiful and simple Introduction, as to one separated from him in the body, and he tells him that his object is not only to strengthen Marcian's own personal faith, but to enable him to defeat the gainsayers. In the opening words we are reminded that as man consists of soul and body, so purity of soul and body is needful for the attainment of truth,

<sup>\*</sup> It is interesting to bear in mind that amongst recent "finds" the epitaph on the grave of St. Avircius, which Schmiedel places at 190, and so probably in the same decade as the letter of St. Irenæus, also bears witness to the prevalence in lands far and near of the same faith and the same Church teaching. Of the Christian character of the epitaph there can be no reasonable doubt (see Zahn, art. "Avircius," in Hauck's *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*; and also P. Wendland, *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur*, p. 163).

and truth is the Christian Rule of Faith, based upon the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. This Rule of Faith has been handed down to us from the elders, the disciples of the Apostles, and every Christian receives baptism for the forgiveness of sins in the Name of God the Father, and in the Name of Jesus Christ, Who was made flesh, Who died and rose again for us, and in the Holy Spirit of God. This baptism is the seal of eternal life, and our birth again in God, that we may not be children of mortal men, but of the eternal and ever-living God and Father.

It is characteristic of the whole treatise, and of the importance assigned by St. Irenæus throughout, as we shall see, to the Old Testament, that he should remind Marcian at the outset that "blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners," and that in the following words, "and hath not sat in the seat of the scornful," he should see a reference to the schools and lecture-rooms of the heretics, in which they destroyed those who were poisoned by their teaching.

In considering the basis of our Faith, St. Irenæus appeals, like the early Apologists, to prophecy and its fulfilment. This subject is dealt with in quite a general manner in the first part of the book: the revelation of God, the history of the Old Testament, is traced step by step until we arrive at the work of the prophets, while the next part of the book shows in detail the fulfilment of the prophetic references to our Lord's pre-existence, His Incarnation, His miracles, His Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and Return to judgment.

The third and last section is, in the judgment of Dr. Harnack, the most valuable of all. The piety of the saint, his profound knowledge of all that was simplest and deepest in his Faith, his estimation of the difference between the religion of Judaism and the religion of Christ, the crowning value which he attaches to the love of God and man, all these are made manifest. Parallels may no doubt be found to such declarations in the great work of Irenæus, *Against Heresies*; but even there these leading thoughts are not associated together in such an impressive manner. To this point we shall return, and for the moment we need only note how Dr. Harnack, whilst he cannot deny the sacramental element in the teaching of the treatise, emphasizes his belief that the scripture-proof was that upon which St. Irenæus chiefly depended.

But this general scheme of the treatise enables us to attach an additional value to it from another point of view.

It is quite possible, as Paul Drews has plausibly maintained, that Irenæus is here giving us the oldest manual of Church catechism,\* a catechism which may be placed side by side with St. Augustine's catechism for the instruction of the unlearned (*De catechizandis rudibus*). It is not maintained that St. Augustine had seen or used the treatise of Irenæus, but that both writers had followed the like catechetical type.

\* "Der literarische Charakter der neuentdeckten Schrift des Irenæus," by Paul Drews, in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, Heft 3 (1907). See also Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion*, vol. ii. 604, article "Bible in the Church" by von Dobschütz.

In the *Apostolical Constitutions*, vii. 39, we have an account of the various subjects in which the catechumens before their baptism were instructed. And it is not a little remarkable that the essential points of this teaching are found in the treatise of Irenæus, and that too in the same sequence. Let us take one or two illustrations, which will be sufficient for our purpose.

The catechumen in the *Apost. Const.* is to be instructed first of all in the knowledge of the unbegotten God, in the understanding of His only begotten Son, in the assured acknowledgment of the Holy Ghost. We turn to the opening chapters of St. Irenæus, and we find that their content consists chiefly in the teaching relating to the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit. And at the central point of this teaching stands the thought of the unbegotten God, invisible, the Creator of all things, the Father; and as we pass to the teaching of Irenæus concerning the Son and the Spirit, we recognize that although the title "only begotten" is not actually used, yet the Sonship must be of a unique character, since the knowledge of the Father is the Son, and the knowledge of the Son of God is through the Holy Spirit. But the catechumen in the *Apost. Const.* is to be instructed in the following in immediate sequence. "Let him learn the order of the several parts of the creation, the series of providence, the different dispensations of God's laws. Let him be instructed why the world was made, and why man was appointed to be a citizen therein; let him also know his own nature, of what

sort it is ; let him be taught how God punished the wicked with water and fire, and did glorify the saints in every generation." And then follows a mention of the great saints of the Old Testament as illustrating the above, and of the way in which God still took care of and did not reject mankind. We can scarcely regard it as accidental that this same sequence of thought should be found and illustrated in the immediately succeeding chapters of the treatise of St. Irenæus. The saint speaks at the outset of the seven heavens by which the world is encircled,\* and in which powers and angels and archangels dwell, and he then relates how the Father of all has formed all things through the Word, and has given laws to the whole world, that everything should keep to its province, and not overstep the limits assigned by God, but that each may do the work entrusted to him.

In much the same way as the *Apost. Const.*, Irenæus goes on to speak of the creation of man, and the purpose of his creation, viz. that he might rule over all on the earth, and more than once we are reminded that man himself was made in the image of God.

But the connection between the two writings may be traced further still when we read that the catechumen is to be taught the punishments of God, to save men from sin and error in each generation, and the blessing of God upon the holy and the righteous. St. Irenæus gives us a sketch of Israelitish

\* For an account of the belief in the seven heavens we may refer, with Mr. Conybeare, to Dr. Charles, *Books of the Secrets of Enoch*, pp. 30-47.



history to enforce the same truth, and the names of Noah, Abraham, Moses, Joshua, and Caleb appear in both writings.

And if the *Apost. Const.* teaches how God punished men "in water and fire," Irenæus refers to the flood, and the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea (although he says nothing of the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah). These constant references to the Old Testament cause von Dobschütz to see in the letter before us "a splendid instance" of catechetical instruction in the typological and allegorical significance of the Bible.

But the parallels may be traced further. If the *Apost. Const.* points out that at this part of the instruction the catechist should place his hand on the catechumen and pray over him, commencing with a thanksgiving, it is quite true that we find no traces of this in Irenæus. But if we read the words which follow in the *Apost. Const.*, "after this thanksgiving let him instruct him in the doctrines concerning our Lord's Incarnation and in those concerning His Passion, and Resurrection from the dead, and Ascension," these facts thus enumerated are the facts around which the whole subsequent teaching of St. Irenæus moves. If we turn to St. Augustine's catechism which we have named (chap. xviii. and following chapters) we find that it contains also the same narrative, extending even to details of Old Testament history which we find in St. Irenæus. And if we read the succeeding chapters (xxii.-xxiv.) we find the same stress laid as in the New Testament upon the Incarnation, the Sufferings, the Death, the Resurrection



of Jesus, the events of Pentecost, and the spread of the gospel message. No doubt it may be urged that the "programme" of catechetical teaching has widened in the interval between Irenæus and Augustine, but in all essentials the historical survey in both writers is the same.

One interesting fact seems, however, to stand out in the language of St. Irenæus to Marcian, viz. that the latter is not a catechumen, but an actually baptized Christian. In chap. iii. Irenæus classes his friend amongst those who had received baptism, and in the opening words of the treatise he expresses his hope that Marcian will be successful in refuting unbelievers. At the same time the fact that he thus finds it necessary to strengthen Marcian's faith by writing to him may indicate that the latter had not been a baptized Christian for any length of time.

But it will be urged that if this is so, if Marcian is not a catechumen but a baptized Christian, what becomes of the view that we have before us a Christian catechism? But it is only natural to suppose that Irenæus, in his endeavour to strengthen the faith of his friend, who may have been newly baptized, as Drews thinks, would choose the usual and familiar lines of catechetical teaching, although he would naturally enlarge upon the same in a manner which would be more detailed than in Marcian's previous catechetical instruction. But whatever may have been the exact position of Marcian in the Church, we may be thankful that we can listen to-day to the contents of a hitherto unknown letter, addressed to one unknown to us except as a brother

in the Lord ; as unknown and yet well known because a sharer in the one Lord, the one Faith, the one Religion. And if there is some reason to believe that we have in this letter the earliest form at any length of catechetical teaching, its importance from this point of view alone would be considerable.

We have before remarked that the treatise before us does not contain much that is new, but nevertheless there are three particulars in which it corroborates and in the main strengthens what we already knew. And these particulars may be classed under (1) Christian documents, (2) Christian doctrine and creed, (3) Christian life.

It is of importance to note that Dr. Harnack finds references to all our four Gospels, and amongst these references we find the visit of the Magi peculiar to St. Matthew, and the trial of our Lord before Herod peculiar to St. Luke. Amongst the Synoptists it is noteworthy that by far the most frequent references (Harnack enumerates eight) are to St. Matthew, a fact which falls in with the more frequent references in other early writers also to the same Gospel. Close acquaintance, moreover, is shown with the Acts of the Apostles in a description of the Ascension as we have the event recorded in that book. In passing, we may remark that whilst the writer thus shows such close acquaintance with the Acts, he nevertheless in one passage (ch. 71) refers to the sick as being placed in the way, so that the shadow of the Lord as He passed by might overshadow some of them. Evidently what in Acts v. 15 is referred to St. Peter is here referred to

our Lord Himself, and it is a good illustration of the manner in which the early Fathers quoted sometimes from memory and were liable to the same mistakes as we so often experience ourselves. It is a much more serious matter that St. Irenæus should speak in this treatise of our Lord being crucified under Pontius Pilate, the procurator of the emperor Claudius (c. 74).

Dr. Harnack, in commenting on this passage, seems to think that St. John before Irenæus may have been guilty of the same mistake,\* and Mr. Conybeare goes so far as to say that the ignorance of Irenæus is so extraordinary that it goes far to shake our faith in his testimony to any historical fact whatever (*Expositor*, p. 42, July, 1907).

But Dr. James Moffatt, who is not likely to speak with any bias in favour of the conservative side, takes up Mr. Conybeare's remark and adds, "If Irenæus believed that Jesus lived to the reign of Claudius, what faith can we repose in his testimony, say, to the authorship of the fourth Gospel? But are the cases on all fours? Might not a writer err on the one point and yet preserve a reliable tradition upon the other?" (*Expository Times*, p. 72, Nov. 1908.)

If we turn to the Gospel of St. John we note Dr. Harnack finds no less than some six references to it in our treatise, and that these references include, not only a great doctrinal passage such as John i. 14, but also the detailed narrative which St. John alone gives of the casting lots for the coat of Jesus, which was

\* See also *Against Heresies*, ii. 22, where Irenæus, on the ground of John viii. 57, places our Lord's age as between forty and fifty years,

without seam, woven from the top through (ch. 80, with which comp. John xix. 23).

We have references in the treatise to no less than seven of St. Paul's Epistles, and amongst those Epistles the most disputed find a place, viz. Ephesians and 1 Tim. and Titus.\*

There can be no doubt about the definiteness of the references to the Ephesians. The writer is speaking of the Persons of the Trinity, and he remarks that Paul fittingly says that there is One God the Father, who is over all, and through all, and in us all (Ephes. iv. 6), for over all is the Father, and through all the Word, since through Him all was from the Father, and in us all the Spirit, who cries Abba, Father. The references to 1 Timothy and Titus are not so plain, but apparently Dr. Harnack feels no hesitation about them.†

We further note that Dr. Harnack finds no less than four references to the Acts. Two of these remind us of the opening verses of that book, and they give us in some detail the account of the Lord's Ascension.

Dr. Harnack, indeed, has recently dismissed the

\* Cf. Ephes. iv. 5, in ch. 5; 1 Tim. i. 9, in ch. 35; Tit. ii. 8, in ch. 1. It is curious that Irenæus twice quotes elsewhere the Apocryphal saying of Jeremiah (which he quotes here in ch. 78, and which we find also in Justin, *Dial. cum Tryp.*, ch. 78), once as if from Isaiah, and once as if from Jeremiah.

† Dr. Stanton, in an interesting note, compares the habit of quotation in Plutarch's *Moral Essays* with that of the early Fathers. Plutarch, it would seem, knew his Plato well, and frequently gives expressions and sentences from him with accuracy, but at the same time there are undoubted indications that he usually quotes from memory (*The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part I. p. 24).

early verses of Acts i. as legendary (*Die Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 126-132 (1908)). But it is noticeable that Irenæus (ch. 83) does not content himself in his reference to the Ascension with quoting a Psalm of the Old Testament (Ps. xxiv.) (which he might have done), but that he gives the details of the Ascension as described in the Acts, not in the *ipsissima verba*, but in a way which shows that those details must have been widely known and accepted as historical by the Church. And as the details of the Ascension are known, so too are the details connected with other statements of the Creeds.\* Frequent reference, *e.g.*, is made to the fact of our Lord's Virgin Birth, and various inferences and lessons are drawn from it. But such inferences and lessons presuppose that a belief in the supernatural Birth had been for some time in circulation. And St. Irenæus recognizes this when he affirms that he is giving, not merely the teaching of himself, or even of his own community, but of the tradition handed down from the Apostles for the use and benefit of the whole Catholic Church.†

But not only the fact of the Virgin Birth is emphasized, but reference is made to the incidents connected with it, as *e.g.* to the visit of the Magi. It may be admitted that Irenæus connects this incident with one Old Testament prophecy (Numb. xxiv. 17 ;

\* See also the references to our Lord's Descent into Hades and the purpose of it (ch. 78).

† The present writer may refer to *Our Lord's Virgin Birth* (S.P.C.K.), ch. iv. See also pp. 16, 17, above. See also two excellent little books by W. St. Clair Tisdall, *Comparative Religion*, pp. 56, 70, and *Mythic Christs and the True*, pp. 18 ff.

see ch. 58), but as in the references to the Ascension, so also in the reference to the Magi he gives details of their visit which remind one of the reminiscences of a story already widely known and freely cited.\*

But not only the facts, but also the doctrines of the Creeds are emphasized in the treatise before us. We have seen this in relation to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in the early pages of the work. We may see it also in language which relates to our Lord's Deity, language which was certainly not surpassed in any Christian document anterior to the Council of Nicæa.

After dwelling upon the successive Theophanies of the Old Testament, the writer says in a passage (ch. 47) which, as Harnack remarks, bears the impress of being Nicene—

“So the Father is Lord and the Son is Lord, and the Father is God and the Son God, because He that is begotten of God is God.” †

Before we pass to a further consideration of the facts of the Gospels cited by Irenæus, we may note a further way in which he may be said to anticipate

\* See art. “Birth of Christ,” by the present writer in Dr. Hastings’ *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, vol. i.; and Dr. Plummer’s *St. Matthew*, p. 13.

† Mr. F. C. Conybeare remarks with Harnack that in this one passage Irenæus draws very close to the Nicene position (although Harnack introduces some strictures), and he quotes the context: “And thus according to substance and power of His essence (or Being) one God is shown, although according to economic administration of our salvation both Son and Father; inasmuch as the Father of all created beings is invisible and inaccessible. They who are destined to approach God must by means of the Son have access and guidance to the Father” (cf. Ephes. iii. 12). *Expositor*, p. 36, July, 1907.



something of our modern problems.\* Thus in one striking passage (ch. 39), he asks how a man who does not accept our Lord's Birth from a Virgin could accept His Resurrection from the dead?

No doubt there are people in our own day who would not recognize with Irenæus any necessary connection between these two Articles of Faith, but the saint gives firm utterance to the belief of the early Church that the victory over death and corruption could only be gained by One whose Birth and whose purity were unique. St. Irenæus, in his firm adherence to the main facts of the Creed, would have appreciated, we may well believe, the irony of Tertullian, in which the famous lawyer represents our Lord Himself as saying that He had given to His followers the Gospels and the Rule of Faith, but that He found Himself obliged to make some modifications in conformity to the spirit of the age. "I once gave the Gospel and the doctrine of the said rule of life and faith to My Apostles; but afterwards it was my pleasure to make considerable changes in it! I had promised a resurrection, even of the flesh, but on second thoughts it struck Me that I might not be able to keep My promise! I had shown Myself to be born of a virgin; but this seemed to Me afterwards to be a discreditable thing! I had said that He was My Father, who is the Maker of the sun and the showers; but another and better Father has adopted me! I had forbidden you to lend an ear to heretics; but in this I committed an error!" †

\* See short review of the treatise before us in the *Guardian*, Sept. 30, 1908.

† *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, ch. xlv.

We saw at the outset the prominent place assigned to the doctrine of the Trinity in this treatise. But whilst Irenæus thus commences, he closes with a similar insistence upon the same doctrine. Christians must keep the whole truth, and they must beware of imitating heretical teachers in separating the Creator of the world from the One true God, or in despising the Incarnation of the Son of God, or in refusing the gifts conferred by the Holy Spirit.

But we have now to face the serious question, Upon what does Irenæus throughout base his argument? Not apparently, and as we might expect, upon our historical Gospels, but upon Old Testament prophecies, and upon mystical and allegorical interpretations of proof-texts.

Mr. Conybeare, in view of this method, proceeds to remark that an orthodox and a cultivated clergyman of this generation, contrasting this *summa theologiæ* of Irenæus with his own beliefs, will notice the importance which Irenæus attaches to the proof from prophecy, a type of argumentation which is being rapidly banished among modern divines, although it was the staple for many years of Christian apologetic. But has Mr. Conybeare never read the pregnant sentences of a foeman worthy of his steel, in which Dr. Illingworth reminds us that "once confronted with the Incarnation, the whole of Jewish prophecy assumed a new significance," or in which he admits that even if modern criticism has considerably weakened the appeal to prophecy in its more superficial aspect, and that even should it reduce the specifically Messianic element in particular

prophecies to a vanishing point, this would in no way affect the great argument from prophecy considered as a whole, for it would leave absolutely untouched the fact that the history and literature of Judaism is a Messianic prophecy from beginning to end?

We may admit that the early Christians laid more stress upon the argument from prophecy than upon the evidence from miracles; or we may admit that it is more than probable that there were collections of Testimonies taken from the Old Testament prophecies for the refutation of the Jews, which were in the possession of a Tertullian, a Cyprian, a Justin Martyr, an Irenæus, as the treatise before us tends to show. Or we may ask whether it is not possible that, earlier still, Christians may have employed similar collections of Old Testament texts. St. Peter and St. Paul, *e.g.*, both quote together the same two passages from Isaiah, in which a reference was found to Christ as "the Stone," a name given to Him in the earliest addresses of the Acts, and that, too, by St. Peter.

And in this connection it is of interest to observe that if we cannot carry back the evidences of such collections of prophecies to Apostolic days, yet St. Cyprian heads the sixteenth chapter of his second book of *Testimonies against the Jews* with the words, "That Christ also is called a Stone," and that he cites first of all Isaiah xxviii. 16, and later on the words of St. Peter in Acts iv. 8-12.\*

\* See further for the literature of the subject, Dr. Rendel Harris, "Athanasius and the Book of Testimonies," *Expositor*, June, 1910, and also above, p. 10.

But we can, at all events, understand how such collections of prophecies would soon be required by the exigencies of controversy, and how valuable and indispensable they would be to Christian teachers who took the thesis that Jesus is the Christ as the sum and substance of their message; or to Christians in general who sought, like Marcian, a help to their own faith and an answer to those who disputed the statements of the Gospels. As we read the headings of each book of St. Cyprian's *Testimonies* we can see the aptness of the parallel which Dr. Rendel Harris finds to these collections of Scripture passages in the little handbook known as the *Soldier's Pocket Bible* carried by the Ironsides of Cromwell. This little book contained a series of extracts from the Bible—for the most part from the Old Testament—adapted to explain to the Puritan soldier his duty in various circumstances, and arranged under appropriate headings.\* But whilst we recognize the inevitable growth and need of such *Testimonies*, we may well demur to the statement that their use throws the whole weight of the argument of Irenæus or of early Christian Apologists upon these Old Testament prophecies.

Let us look at the matter a little more closely. The title of the treatise is "For a Proof of the Apostolical Teaching." But this very title would seem to presuppose something behind it. It presupposes that the Apostolical teaching, and what Irenæus himself calls the tradition of the apostles,

\* "The Use of Testimonies in the Early Church," *Expositor*, Nov. 1906.

were well known and worthy of credit, and that a knowledge of them and an acquaintance with them might be taken for granted.\* A careful reading of the treatise shows us that the writer was acquainted with the details of the Gospel history, and that he is able to refer to those writings if occasion require. He refers, *e.g.*, to John the Baptist and our Lord's own baptism; he refers to our Lord's miracles upon the sick and upon the dead; he knows the details of the treachery of Judas, of the choice of Barabbas, of the casting lots for the Saviour's garments; he knows of our Lord's claim to be perfect in all things, to judge the world, to found a new covenant. It is urged that he says little or nothing of our Lord's teaching. But in one memorable passage he points out that men ought to live in the simplicity of faith and love, and that therefore the Apostle Paul could declare that love is the fulfilling of the law; and he then proceeds to add, "The Lord also, when He was asked which was the chief commandment, answered, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy strength; and the second is like unto it: thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.'"

The whole treatise gives us the impression that it was written *to* one who was already familiar with the contents of our Gospels, and *by* one who could use the incidents of those Gospels as illustrations of the

\* This view is also taken by Professor Kunze, so well known for his research in connection with the Creeds. See his review of the letter of St. Irenæus in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, vol. xxviii. p. 3 (1907).



fulfilling, *i.e.* of the filling up to the full, of the Old Testament prophecies.

We cannot forget that the writer had, as it were, behind him his own great work, *Against Heresies*, which, as we have seen, must have been written at an earlier date. Nor can we forget that the earliest illustration which we have of the contents of "catechizing" in the New Testament is a proof that Theophilus was catechized, instructed, as to the certainty of the facts of the Gospel story.

Or are we to suppose that the great descriptive series of events in our Gospels and the record of a life which has moved the world are but the outcome of a fortuitous combination of the words of Psalmist and Prophet, uttered on widely different occasions and at widely differing times?

Nor must we forget that the Christian interpretation of Psalm or Prophecy was often made in the teeth of Jewish Messianic expectation.

A cultured and learned Jew, in his recent Commentary on the Synoptists, Mr. C. J. Montefiore, again and again emphasizes the fact that the conception of a Suffering Messiah must have lain altogether apart from the expectations of those who hoped that the Messiah would restore the kingdom to Israel, and that a Messiah who should suffer and die and rise from the dead was an enigma to the disciples of Jesus.

Or, if we turn for a moment to the consideration of our Lord's miracles—we are asked to believe that when He is described as raising the dead—a class of miracles to which Irenæus in our treatise



distinctly refers—allusion is made to the spiritually dead, and such an interpretation is supposed to be justified by such a passage as Isaiah xxxv. 5. But, in the first place, there is no evidence that the Evangelists interpreted this passage in Isaiah “spiritually,” and at all events nothing is said in this passage of raising the dead.

It seems in truth to have been far more generally believed that God Himself would raise the dead. Moreover, in passages in which this power is attributed to the Messiah, reference is made to the resurrection of all the dead, and there is no allusion of any kind in Jewish writings to the raising by the Messiah of single individuals.

But there is another consideration worthy of mention in connection with this “argument from prophecy.” The Old Testament prophecies are not always referred to upon occasions which would seem to demand some such allusion. Take, as a single instance, the visit of the Magi, to which the treatise before us makes a very definite and detailed reference. And we should have expected that the Jewish Evangelist, as he is called, if he had been making up a story, would have referred to some such passages as Isaiah lx. 3, 6, or Numbers xxiv. 17, or Psalm lxxii. 10, 15, and that he would have connected them with the coming of the Magi from afar and with their guidance by a star to Bethlehem.

But although the Evangelist finds a fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies on every possible occasion, he says nothing here to connect the above passages with the coming or the worship of the Magi. The

force of this omission has been felt by at least one German critic of very advanced views in a recent number of the little religious-historical pamphlets issued in Germany. In treating of the wondrous birth of the Saviour, the writer, who does his best to minimize the Gospel narrative of the event before us, mentions the prophecy in Numbers xxiv. 17 that a star shall arise out of Jacob. "But," he adds, "whether this prophecy can be brought into connection with the star of the Magi is questionable. In his predilection for Old Testament quotations the Evangelist would surely have pointed to this passage." \* But as a matter of fact he does not.†

It may be sufficient to add that recent research tends to establish the belief that the first two chapters of St. Matthew are no later addition, but that they come from the same hand as the rest of the book. It is, indeed, not too much to say that the words and phrases characteristic of the first Evangelist are used with considerable more freedom in the first two chapters than in the rest of the Gospel.‡

But whilst, like the early Apologists, St. Irenæus lays stress on the argument from prophecy, and the evidence from miracles, he lays stress upon a stronger argument still, on which the early Apologists loved most of all to dwell and to rely—a fearless appeal to the purity of the Christian life, and the manner in which the Gospel had transformed men's characters, and turned them from the power of Satan

\* *Die wunderbare Geburt des Heilandes* (E. Petersen), p. 12 (1909).

† On the significance of this, see also Dr. Plummer, *u.s.*, p. 12.

‡ Dr. Plummer, *u.s.*, p. 20; and Sir J. Hawkins, *Horæ Symplicæ*, p. 8.

unto God. Their wild and untamed natures were changed, and those who were at one time miscreants, and capable of every outrageous and wicked deed, became new creatures in Christ Jesus (chap. 61). The treatise commences, as we have seen, with a reference to the purity so necessary to seeing and knowing the Father. "Who is the God of the Christians?" asked the Roman governor of the aged Pothinus. "If thou art worthy, thou shalt know," was the answer; "with the clean Thou shalt be clean."

And this change was effected, as Irenæus so well knew, and as he testifies, in the face of bitter hatred and opposition. There is little, if anything, of historical detail in the whole treatise, but the writer speaks of the time when Christ should judge the kings who *now* hate Him and persecute His Name (chap. 48).

And this purity of life begat that Christian hope and joy which came into the world with the redemption from sin, with the Incarnation, and the Cross of the Redeemer. Thus this treatise begins with a note of joy, and it ends with the word "redemption," which occurs again and again throughout its pages. Contrast this with the helplessness and hopelessness so often characteristic of the pagan world in face of the great problems of existence.

From this same second century we have had recently preserved to us a Greek papyrus found in the Egyptian town of Oxyrhynchus, now in the library of Yale University. Let me read it to you: "Eirene to Taonnophris and Philon, good cheer.

I was as much grieved and shed as many tears over Eumoiros as I shed for Didymus, and I did everything that was fitting, and so did my whole family. . . . But still there is nothing we can do in the face of such trouble, so I leave you to comfort yourselves. Good-bye."

We turn to another letter, written by Paul the Christian Apostle to the mourners at Thessalonica, and we listen to a message of hope and life, which could enable the writer to add: "Wherefore comfort ye one another with these words." Or we turn to another book of St. Irenæus, in which he speaks of the joy of Paradise and the brightness of the eternal city, "for in every place shall the Saviour be seen, according as they who see Him shall be worthy."

It is this last and practical part of the treatise that Dr. Harnack considers the most valuable. Here we have a glimpse at least of the brightness and the blessedness of the Christian life as it was taught and lived in Lyons at the close of the second Christian century, and the gift of the Holy Spirit bestows upon men a new law written in their hearts, a law which raises them above the Mosaic law, for they have received the Lord of the law, the Son of God, and through faith in Him we learn to love God above all else and our neighbours as ourselves. For the law no longer needs to say "Thou shalt not kill" to him who has put far away from himself all anger and all malice.

But this our early record of Christian catechizing is not merely morality, it is something more even

than the insistence upon the two great commandments; it shows us that the same doctrinal and religious truths which St. Irenæus teaches in his great work *Against Heresies* are present to his mind in this later work, a treatise which probably contains the final confession of a faith which he shares not only with his friend Marcian, but, as he himself tells us, with the whole Church. Professor Kunze is undoubtedly right when he points out that whilst in some of the earlier chapters a knowledge of the Trinitarian formula and of the equality of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is as evident as in the work *Against Heresies*, so too in the closing paragraphs a similar knowledge is presupposed in the condemnation of the erroneous teaching, which separates God the Father from the Creator, which despises the Incarnation of the Son of God, and rejects the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Dr. Harnack describes the letter before us as a treasure, a Biblical manual, and he tells us that he cannot read it to-day without wonder and emotion. But why, we may ask, is this letter such a treasure? Because it shows us that the Christian life depends upon faith in Jesus Christ, the Crucified and Risen Saviour, in Whom we find all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; and because it keeps before us, as we have seen, as our rule of Faith, from the beginning to the end, the revelation of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

There is, no doubt, a sense in which it may be said that the sum of the doctrine of Irenæus is that a life of faith in God is a life of love to man. But

this God is the Father made known by His Son, and the Son is made known to man by the Holy Spirit—"no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost."

It is a long way from the second to the twentieth century, but we have recently had another creed and another catechism put forth by an eminent scientific man of our day, *The Substance of Faith allied with Science: a Catechism for Parents and Teachers*, by Sir Oliver Lodge. ". . . What do you reverently believe can be deduced from a study of the records and traditions of the past in the light of the present?" That is one of the questions of this new catechism.

And the answer is this:

"I believe in one Infinite and Eternal Being, a guiding and loving Father, in whom all things consist.

"I believe that the Divine Nature is specially revealed to man through Jesus Christ our Lord, who lived and taught and suffered in Palestine 1900 years ago, and has since been worshipped by the Christian Church as the immortal Son of God, the Saviour of the world.

"I believe that the Holy Spirit is ever ready to help us along the way towards goodness and truth; that prayer is a means of communion between man and God, and that it is our privilege through faithful service to enter into the Life Eternal, the Communion of Saints, and the Peace of God."

Some parts of such an answer are very beautiful, and although I suppose that the writer would not



claim to be an orthodox Christian, we may think of him as one who is not far from the kingdom of God.

But notice that all this creed, this doctrine of a loving Trinity, is to be deduced from a study of the records and traditions of the past. A few pages previously the same writer had spoken of the canon of Scripture, and of some portions of it as the most inspired writings yet achieved by humanity.

We have tried to consider to-day the bearing of one of these records and traditions of the past. And one thought which cannot fail to be present to our minds is surely this: What would the Creed of the twentieth century be without those four Gospels which, in the days of St. Irenæus, were so authoritatively and universally proclaimed? What would it be without this catechism of the second century with its teaching of the everlasting Gospel, of the Incarnation of the Son of God, and of our redemption from the bondage of sin through Him, with its message of the indwelling Spirit whereby in our hearts and from our hearts we say, "Abba, Father"?

One of our English Church historians has reminded us of an account once presented by an engraver and painter in Cirencester to those responsible for the repair of one of the local churches. It ran as follows: "To mending the Commandments, altering the Belief, and making a new Lord's Prayer, £21 1s."

That account represents as in a figure many

efforts which are going on around us to-day. And this little treatise of St. Irenæus may help to teach and to assure us that the Church need never endorse or honour such a demand: "Can Time undo, what once was true?"

THE END

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